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The Highland Scots of North Carolina

By
Duane Meyer, Ph. D.

*Professor of History
Southwest Missouri State College*



*A Publication of
The Carolina Charter Tercentenary Commission
Box 1881, Raleigh, North Carolina*

1963



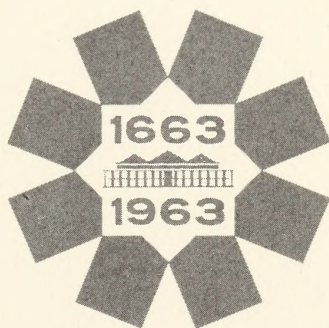
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The Carolina Charter Tercentenary Commission was established by the North Carolina General Assembly to "make plans and develop a program for celebration of the tercentenary of the granting of the Carolina Charter of 1663 . . ." As part of this program the Commission arranged for the publication of a number of historical pamphlets for use in stimulating interest in the study of North Carolina history during the period 1663-1763. This publication is part of that project.

Raleigh, North Carolina, 1963

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FOREWORD

The drama of North Carolina's three hundred year history has been played on the stage of time by a multitude of actors. The first of these players, in order of appearance, were the men and women, high-born and humble, who came to Carolina seeking land and liberty. Among these North Carolinians was a hardy group from the Highlands of Scotland. The story of these Scotsmen is a dramatic scene in the epic of North Carolina's past. There is an element of mystery in this saga. The Highlanders were a people fast-bound by family ties and devoted to their sternly beautiful homeland. Why did such men and women leave all that they knew and loved to come to a strange new world? These same Highlanders, twice defeated in rebellion against the Crown, were bitter enemies of the English King. Why, then, did the majority of them take the unpopular position of defending George III at the time of the American Revolution? In these pages we shall attempt to answer these questions and to present a picture of these Scotsmen as they made the decision to leave their Highlands, as they journeyed to America, as they established themselves in their new home, and as, for the third time in sixty years, they were forced to choose sides in a rebellion against the English Crown.

CHAPTER I

Motives for Migration

The Highlands of Scotland include the rugged mainland and islands in the North and West of that country. In the first half of the eighteenth century, the inhabitants of these Highlands lived in a secluded feudal society under the control of tribal chieftains. A clan warrior received his plot of land from his chief, to whom he usually was related. In return, the warrior was expected to attend the court of the chief, accept his judgments and discipline, follow him in war, and pay him rent in products of his land. In this society, methods of agriculture were primitive and farming unproductive. To eighteenth-century Englishmen and Lowlanders, the Highlands seemed a mysterious area populated by people speaking a strange tongue called Gaelic, perpetuating strange practices, and paying little if any heed to the laws of the British government.

Captain Edward Burt, an English engineer traveling through the Highlands in 1730, expressed in his *Letters* his amazement at the society he discovered. The power of the clan chief over his clansmen was almost unlimited. When Burt was offended by the remarks of a chief's warriors, the angered patriarch offered to send him "two or three of their Heads" in apology. A chief never ventured from his castle without a retinue of gillies (servants), a bard, a piper, and a bladier (spokesman). Women performed much of the agricultural labor, using crude implements constructed largely of wood. The horse collar was not yet used in the Highlands; Burt observed that the people maintained the "barbarous Custom . . . of drawing the Harrow by the Horse's Dock, without any manner of harness whatever." Their agriculture

produced barely enough in good years to sustain men and cattle. In bad years numbers of both perished from starvation. Oatmeal, sometimes mixed with a small quantity of milk, at other times with blood from a freshly-bled cow, was the staple food. Butter and eggs were eaten occasionally; meat was consumed rarely. After visiting in one of the "wretched hovels" of "piled stone and turf" which served as a home, Burt described the interior in this way: "There my Landlady sat, with a Parcel of Children about her, some quite, and others almost naked, by a little Peat Fire, in the Middle of the Hut; and over the Fire-Place was a small Hole in the Roof for a Chimney. The Floor was common Earth, very uneven, and no where Dry, but near the Fire and in the Corners, where no Foot had carried the Muddy Dirt from without Doors."

The isolation and tribal character of this poverty-stricken society were destroyed in the struggle for the throne of England and Scotland known as the Jacobite rebellions. In Scotland, the ruling family was the House of Stuart (also spelled Stewart and Steuart). In England, the Tudors were the ruling family until the line ran out with the death of Elizabeth I, in 1603. Elizabeth's cousin, the Scottish king, James VI, was then invited to accept the English crown also. He did so and ruled England as James I. The two nations retained their separate parliaments and councils, but the people were all subjects of the same Stuart monarchs. James and the Stuarts who succeeded him ruled the two nations for a century altogether.

The Stuarts, especially those who reigned before 1688, were strong-willed sovereigns, ever upholding the divine right of kings and always seeking to minimize the power of Parliament. Religion was another source of conflict. The English kings were heads of the Church of England. James I

and his son Charles I both disliked Calvinist policy, which put church control in the hands of presbyteries and a General Assembly. They preferred to have royally appointed bishops directing the church, and their attempts to establish such an episcopal system in Scotland produced bitter Presbyterian opposition.

The hostile response of the English and Scottish peoples to these political and religious policies produced some of the most important events in their history. The actions of James I and Charles I stirred up a storm of protest in both England and Scotland. Civil War finally erupted during the reign of Charles I. Charles was executed by the Puritan victors who then ruled England from 1649 to 1660. In 1660 the crown was restored to Charles II. His Catholic brother, James II, ascended the throne at Charles' death in 1685. James II was a blunt, relentless man who pursued his political and religious policies with such harshness that he soon alienated the members of the English and Scottish Parliaments, the Anglicans, and the Calvinists. In view of his advancing age and the Protestantism of the grown daughters who would succeed him, no attempt was made to depose James II until his bride gave birth to a son in 1688. This brought forth the threat of another Catholic king and triggered the Glorious Revolution of 1688. A coalition of political leaders advised James to leave the country and invited James's daughter Mary and her husband William to become the joint monarchs of England and Scotland. Unwilling to lose his head to the executioner's ax as his father had, James fled to France. After the reigns of William and Mary, and Queen Anne, their German nephew, the Elector of Hanover, became King George I of Great Britain in 1714.

Those people in England and Scotland who favored the restoration of James II or his heirs to the throne were known

as Jacobites (from *Jacobus*, the Latin for James). Although they took part in several other uprisings, the main revolutionary efforts of the Jacobites took place in 1715 and 1745 and were subsequently known as the Fifteen and the Forty-five.

The Fifteen and the Forty-five were organized in the Highlands of Scotland because many clans were known to favor the House of Stuart and because it was a remote region largely uncontrolled and unpatrolled by the British army. In September, 1715, the Earl of Mar, unhappy at having been removed from his post as Secretary of State by George I, traveled to the Highlands and raised the standard for James Edward, the self-styled "James III." Six months later an army under the command of Archibald Campbell, the third Duke of Argyle, defeated the Jacobite clans.

The next major Jacobite revolutionary attempt, the Forty-five, was the work of James's son Charles Edward—affectionately known in the Highlands as Bonnie Prince Charlie. Prince Charles was a tall, slender man with red hair, dark eyes, and a handsome face. Energetic, smooth-talking, and straightforward, he worked hard to make many friends. The impact of his personality was such that almost half of the clans agreed to rise and follow his standard.

The military prowess of the Highlanders was widely respected, although their tactics seemed primitive and disorganized in comparison with those of other European armies. The signal to attack was followed by a mad charge at the enemy as the clansmen shrieked, screamed, and brandished their broad swords called claymores. The very sound and fury of a Highland army often terrorized its opposition. Prince Charles adopted the Highland garb as his uniform. At night he wrapped himself in his plaid and slept in the heather with his troops. Trusting Prince Charles,



PRINCE CHARLES EDWARD STUART, "BONNIE PRINCE CHARLIE"

the Gaels performed mightily for him on the field of battle.

The military campaigns of the Forty-five occurred over an eight-month period and brought terror to George II and his court. In a series of battles, Prince Charles and his kilted army swept through the Lowlands into England to within 130 miles of London. At this point, the homesick Scots refused to venture farther from their Highlands. King George's son, the Duke of Cumberland, trailed the clans back to the Highlands, and the two armies finally clashed at Culloden Moor in April of 1746. The outnumbered Gaels fought for a time, but when the loss of great numbers and the flight of some units were observed, the entire surviving force turned and ran. The Duke pursued the fleeing clansmen and, in a great bloodbath, cut down the Highlanders in flight or hunted them out in the hills.

Prince Charles did not die with his men in battle as he had promised, but fled from the field at Culloden. During the next five months, he roamed the Highlands and Islands garbed as a Highlander of low rank. Although there was a tempting price of £30,000 on his head, no Highlanders betrayed him. Part of the time he assumed the disguise of a serving maid to a plucky young Highland woman named Flora MacDonald, who was later imprisoned for her role in his escape. In September of 1746, Charles finally embarked for France. With the departure of Prince Charles, the episode was closed. Thereafter, the Highlanders' feelings of hatred, defiance, and remorse could be expressed only in their poems and songs. Hundreds of these Jacobite verses survive:

The glen that was my father's own
Must be by his forsaken;
The house that was my father's home
Is levell'd with the brucken.
Ochon! ochon! our glory's o'er,
Stole by a mean deceiver!

—from *The Jacobite Relics*.

In 1746 the British government began the enactment of a series of laws designed to destroy the clans and to bring the Highlands under political supervision. These restrictive laws applied to all clans alike, although most of the clans had not taken part in the rebellion, and some had actually joined the Duke of Argyle and the Campbells in fighting for the House of Hanover. By the Disarming Act of 1746, all weapons were taken from the Highlanders, who were forbidden to render military service to their chiefs. At the same time, the Highland Dress Act deprived the clansman of his colorful highland garb. With the passage of the bill taking from the clan chiefs all "heritable Jurisdictions," the area became subject to the laws of the realm. Justice was then administered by Sheriff-substitutes and local Justices of the Peace. Finally, the estates of many of the chiefs of the Forty-five were confiscated. As a result of these acts, the special bond between chief and clansman was effectively broken. The feudal, patriarchal Highland clan system came to an end as the chief became a landlord and the clansman a tenant or subtenant.

In addition, the London authorities instituted new religious policies aimed at Episcopalians and Catholics, in order to prevent other Jacobite revolutions. Pastors and priests who refused to take an oath of allegiance to the British king were forbidden to preach, teach, or officiate at meetings. Both the leaders and any persons attending such illegal gatherings were threatened with imprisonment and "transportation."

With the old religious, military, and clan leadership removed, the Jacobites of the Highlands were never again a threat to the peace of the British Isles.

In the three decades following the Forty-five, thousands of Highlanders flocked to America. More of them settled in

North Carolina than in any other colony. What was responsible for this migration? American historians who have studied this movement believe the North Carolina Highlanders were forced into exile. These writers note that, although social and economic factors may have been involved, the major reason for the migration was political—the persecution and deportation of rebel Highlanders after the Forty-five. This writer disagrees with this exile theory and concurs with the eighteenth century British observations that point primarily to nonpolitical causes for the migration. This viewpoint is explained and defended in the book upon which this pamphlet is based.

According to the writer's research, the following three interrelated factors are responsible for the exodus from the Highlands during the latter two-thirds of the eighteenth century: (1) The changes in agriculture produced excessive rents and evictions. (2) The decay of the clan system removed the social ties and restraints that might have prevented migration. (3) The growth of population contributed to poverty and unrest.

During the time when the tribal chieftains exercised control over members of his clan, a system of landholding had developed which served to organize the clan membership into military groups. The chief, whose power was determined by the number of clansmen responding to his call, would grant leases or "tacks" to close relatives in return for token rents and military service. These tacksmen would then divide the land and "subset" it to groups of tenants who farmed it in common and who also agreed to render military service. These tacksmen and tenants hired subtenants, or cot-
ters as laborers. The tacksmen then served as organizers or lieutenants of the military group formed by the tenants and subtenants.

Since a tacksman's obligation of his chief had been figured largely in military terms, a rise in rents was inevitable when such military service was outlawed after the Forty-five. Whenever a tacksman's lease expired, the laird assured himself a greater income by substantially increasing the rent upon renewal or by auctioning the lease. The tacksmen, of course, attempted to pass the rent rise on to their tenants, but they were largely unsuccessful in raising their tenants' rents for the reason that tenants were already paying to the limit of their capacity. When the tacksman could not successfully pass on the rent rise, he was forced to pay it himself. When he was no longer able to pay the rents, he made plans to emigrate.

Another phase of agricultural change was the introduction of new methods of production. Formerly, land had been tilled by the "run-rig" system. Under this system, a group of tenants rented the land in common from a tacksman. Lots were drawn to decide which strip or ridge each tenant would till. Plowing was done co-operatively and, in some places, cultivation and harvesting, too. With such a farming system there was no incentive for liming, draining, or otherwise improving fields, since a tenant could never be certain he would work the same ridges again. The absence of enclosures meant that selective breeding was impossible and that crops were constantly in danger of destruction from wandering cattle. Neither crop rotation nor field rotation was practiced. The "infields" near the farmyard received some manure and were constantly under oats and barley. The "outfields," which consisted of less fertile land and which received little manure, were tilled until they were exhausted. They then were allowed to lie fallow until strengthened.

Enlightened lairds were aware that this type of farming would never allow the tenants a return adequate for an im-

proved standard of living or for the payment of higher rents, and they therefore suggested new farming methods. Other lairds, motivated only by self-interest, simply raised the rents whenever possible. The rise in rents tended to drive out numbers of both the tacksmen and tenant groups.

Slowly but steadily during the last half of the eighteenth century, agricultural methods changed. "Run-rigs" were replaced by compact, enclosed farms which encouraged tenants to improve the holding and which allowed selective breeding. The "outfield" and "infield" system was discarded for a system of field and crop rotation. Large areas of swamp, heretofore considered untillable, became valuable farm land after being drained. When the English iron plow was tried in the Highlands, it proved far superior to the old wooden harrow. Turnips, rutabagas, peas, and kale were adopted as rotation crops and as new foods. Flax, which the government introduced in hope of starting a linen industry, did not grow well; but potatoes thrived and within two decades were the staple food in some areas. To fertilize the thin soil, limestone, which was plentiful in many sections, was burned in peat fires and spread upon the land. These new techniques and crops transformed agricultural life in the Highlands. It must be pointed out, however, that the adoption of new farming methods was not always uniform throughout the Highlands. As late as 1814, tacksmen were still found in several areas; and in others the "run-rig" system persisted at the end of the eighteenth century.

Equally far-reaching changes occurred in grazing, which was the most important agricultural activity of the Highlands. Both before and after the Forty-five, black cattle constituted the major export from the region. However, although cattle continued as the main export, the introduction of Lowland sheep after the Forty-five was an important

event in Highland agriculture. Since the sheep graziers could afford to pay rents considerably higher than the farmers, sheep farming was encouraged by the lairds. Sheep herding began in Perthshire in the 1760's, and only ten years later the practice had spread to the northermost part of the Highlands. With the sheep came enclosures and displaced tenants. The *Scots Magazine* in 1772 lamented the large number of Sutherland tenants forced to move to North Carolina because their farms were turned into pastures. Three years later the *Scots Magazine* noted the expulsion of large numbers of tenants in Perth and Argyllshire for the same reason.

Another motive for migration was the decay of the clan system. Before 1745 the chief was the unquestioned ruler of his clan. His word was law and absolute discipline was demanded. Life or death, war or peace, awaited his command. The clansman rejoiced to share his name, religion, and his dangers. In this society, where exploitation might have been expected, power was tempered with benevolence. The chief's table was open to all and his counsel freely offered to the most humble. Thus, in a society of marked distinctions, an intimacy developed which can best be expressed in family terms. Bound together by common devotion to a chief, the clan was an integrated family which prospered and suffered together, worked and warred together, lived and died together.

Parliament acted swiftly after the defeat of 1746 to cut the military and judicial ties between chief and clansmen. The chain of circumstances that followed caused the lairds to raise the rent, insist upon enclosure of land, and introduce sheep. These actions made the clansman feel that the chief had ceased to be his patron. Loyalty to his laird was no longer a deterrent to emigration.

Pamphlets praising America and enumerating the advantages and attractions of the New World were circulated among the discontented Highlanders. Quite apart from these printed pamphlets, and probably more influential, were the letters sent back to Scotland by the new settlers in America. On the ship *Batchelor of Leith*, which sailed from Caithness in 1774, over half those aboard indicated that they made their decision to migrate because of the encouraging accounts received from countrymen or relatives who had gone before them.

Pamphlets and letters were not, in themselves, the basic reasons for the large Highland emigration of the eighteenth century. Why were a people noted for clannishness and provincialism willing to be transported to a new continent? New modes of landholding, cultivation, and grazing had produced high rents, enclosures, and evictions. Highlanders, no longer protected or regulated by chief and clan organizations, sought relief for economic woes in the New World.

The third major motive for migration was population pressure. Even in the first quarter of the century, there seemed to be more people than the economic resources of the area could support. This situation became more critical when the number of inhabitants further increased in the last half of the century.

Several factors contributed to this population growth. New roads allowed easier transport of foods so that sectional crop failures could be remedied and famine averted. Vaccination for smallpox saved many lives that otherwise might have been claimed by that dread scourge. The introduction of new crops (particularly potatoes and kale, which were more dependable and more productive than the old Highland oats) also served to encourage a population rise.

In a rapidly expanding economy, this growing population might have been welcomed; in the Highland economy, even with the agricultural improvement after 1746, the increasing numbers were a constant problem. Indeed, improved methods of agriculture tended to aggravate the unemployment problem. For example, under the old agricultural system, plowing a given tract of land had required five men and five horses; with the English plow, one man and one horse did the same amount of work. When grazing areas were enclosed, herders were no longer needed.

Although poverty and unemployment had long plagued the Highlands, these were more powerful forces for positive action when combined with the increase in information on idyllic America, and with the removal of the clan structure, which had been a restraint to movement.

CHAPTER II

Voyage to America

In the last half of the eighteenth century, the migration of Highlanders to America proceeded in two major waves. The first, beginning in 1749, was stemmed in 1775 by the outbreak of the American Revolutionary War. At the end of the war, a second wave surged toward the New World and continued to bring Highlanders through the first half of the nineteenth century. Since we are here concerned with the history of the Highlanders before the Revolution, our attention will be centered on the first wave of migration.

The two waves of Highland emigrants can be differentiated on the basis of leadership. From 1749 to 1775, the emigrant groups were organized and led by tacksmen who were themselves forced to leave the Highlands because of economic and population pressures. During the second wave, either the movements were spontaneous or they were the result of promotion by ship agents.

Before 1775, with few exceptions, the tacksmen were the key to the emigration. Having made his decision to move, the tacksmen placed a notice on the church door publicizing his plans and inquiring whether others in the parish desired to join him. In some instances, several tacksmen agreed to leave together and jointly published their intent. Sometimes a meeting was held for all those interested and the project was explained. Those who desired to join the venture signed an agreement and made a payment as token of their good faith. On one occasion 3,000 people joined such a group in a period of two days. The tacksmen then traveled to a port city and contracted with a ship owner to transport the group. When transportation costs were determined, each passenger

was asked to pay half of his fare so that the ship owner received half of his money in advance. All money transactions were made through the tacksman, who received a fee for his services.

The tacksmen had legitimate reasons for guiding Highland groups to America. Often tenants and tacksmen were related and these blood ties resulted in genuine concern for the tenants. Also, as was noted above, the tacksman earned a certain sum of money by organizing an emigration group. This money paid part or all of his own transportation costs. The tenants, meanwhile, agreed to accompany him, not because of the habit of obedience, but because America was popularly believed to be the land of promise or because a tacksman assured them employment in the New World.

For those who were emigrating, funds were obtained from the sale of stock and agricultural equipment. Tacksmen, who traditionally had larger herds, departed for America with larger sums of money. Accompanying the tacksmen and sharing the cost of transportation were those tenants who could secure sufficient funds to finance the voyage. The Highland Society at the turn of the century estimated that the average tenant could sell his stock and equipment for £10. Since the cost of transportation was usually about £3 10s. per adult and half that sum for children, the average tenant had enough money to secure passage for his wife, his two children, and himself. Cotters or subtenants could not migrate to America since, as day laborers, they had no property that could be converted into money.

The emigration movement reached its peak in the 1770's. Wherever they went, Boswell and Johnson in 1773 found people contemplating emigration. The Reverend Alexander Pope in 1774 wrote that half of the people of Caithness would have left for America immediately, if they could have ob-

tained shipping. The desire to migrate was reflected in the popular lyrics of the day and in ballads which proclaimed the glories of the New World. Farewell laments by emigrants were set to melodies and distributed from settlement to settlement. On the island of Skye, in 1774, the inhabitants performed a dance called "America." "Each of the couples . . . successively whirls round in a circle, till all are in motion; and the dance seems intended to show how emigration catches, till a whole neighborhood is set afloat." All ages were captured in this emigration frenzy. A company from Strathspey in Inverness included a woman of 83 years of age, on foot, with her son before her playing *Tulluchgorum* on his bag pipes; some of them had children of a month old, which the fathers carried on their backs in wooden baskets.

It is impossible to determine the size of Highland emigration to America in the years 1730 to 1775 with any accuracy. Existing periodical accounts and government records are woefully incomplete. The best figures may well be the contemporary estimates. John Knox, writing in 1784, estimated that 20,000 Highlanders emigrated between 1763 and 1773. Thomas Garnett suggested in his *Tour*, published in 1800, that 30,000 left Caledonia between 1773 and 1775.

The voyage to America was a trying experience, even under the best circumstances. The voyage was long—usually a month or two. Quarters, especially those below deck, were cramped and unventilated. Food became musty, moldy, or infested with vermin. Drinking water turned dark and strong.

There are reports that captains and shipowners added to the inevitable discomfort of the emigrants by breach of contract and even maltreatment. The Earl of Selkirk attempted to dismiss the troubles of the Highlanders aboard ship as seasickness. However, accounts of three voyages to

America substantiate the charges of mistreatment. Complaints center about the food provided for the passengers and the tyranny of the captains and crews.

In 1773, the brig *Nancy* left Dornoch in Sutherland with 200 settlers bound for New York. Of fifty children aboard under the age of four, only one survived the voyage. While at sea seven babies were born; all the mothers died, and all the babies but one. Of the 200 who had embarked in Sutherland, only a hundred survived to see New York. The cause of this great mortality appears to have been the food which these emigrants received. In obvious violation of contract, and in spite of the fact that an adequate supply of good food was aboard ship, the passengers were given only "corrupted stinking" water and an inferior, musty, black oatmeal, "hardly fit for swine," which had to be eaten raw. By the time port officials in New York began examining the charges brought by the disembarked Highlanders, the ship had slipped out of the harbor.

The *Jamaica Packet* made the voyage from Scotland to the West Indies and North Carolina in 1774 carrying settlers from the Orkney Islands. The settlers had been forced to leave the Highlands because of high rents. Crowded in a small compartment below deck, the passengers were once confined for a nine-day period during a sea storm. The compartment was ventilated only by the cracks in the deck above them, which also allowed the sea to run in when the deck was awash. According to contract, they were to have received each week one pound of meat, two pounds of oatmeal, a small quantity of biscuit, and some water. The provisions actually supplied them consisted of spoiled pork, moldy biscuit, oatmeal, and brackish water. The passengers were fortunate to have potatoes, which were eaten raw and used to supplement their diet. For this fare and these accommodations, they were

charged double the usual transportation fees because it was late October and all the other ships had gone when they arrived. Having only enough money for the regular charges, they were forced to sell themselves to the ship owner as indentured servants in order to pay for their transportation. Poorly nourished as they were and dreading the prospect of indentured servitude, the unfortunate passengers were set upon by the crew at the crossing of the Tropic of Cancer. On threat of dragging the emigrants behind the ship with a rope, the sailors attempted to extort the little property they still possessed.

A historian of the Highlands has described the outbreak of smallpox and dysentery aboard the ship *Hector* on the way to America from Ross. Eighteen children died and were buried at sea. Contrary to contract provisions, the food was both scanty and wretched. During the last days of the voyage, the passengers searched the ship's refuse for edible morsels.

Thus, shipboard life, which was difficult at best for the mass of emigrants, was a terrifying experience for those on ships where contracts were not fulfilled. Even aboard James Hogg's ship, the *Bachelor*, on which the passengers were provided with food rations of meat, meal, and biscuit twice as large as those on the *Jamaica Packet* and the *Nancy*, and were furnished barley, peas, and molasses as well, eleven of 234 passengers died on the first leg of the journey to the Shetland Islands.

When transportation conditions such as these were openly reported in the periodicals of the day, certainly some would-be emigrants were dissuaded by them. The emigration probably would have been larger had life aboard ship been less trying.

Once in America, the Highlanders, preferring to live among those who spoke their language and shared their

customs, usually settled in groups. New York, Nova Scotia, and Georgia were the destinations of many emigrant groups, but the largest Highland settlement on the America continent was that established in North Carolina.

CHAPTER III

Settlement

Almost a century elapsed after the failure of Sir Walter Raleigh's Roanoke Island colony in the 1580's before effective settlement of the North Carolina area was begun. English promoters, neglecting North Carolina because it was not easily accessible, had turned their attention to the Chesapeake Bay region and the Charleston area.

Although North Carolina had an extensive system of rivers emptying into spacious sounds, most of her settlers came into the colony overland from South Carolina, Virginia, and Pennsylvania. This was true because the sounds (Albemarle, Pamlico, Currituck, Bogue, Core) were too shallow and treacherous for safe navigation. Moreover, the Outer Banks, a sand reef stretched for 300 miles along the coast to menace naval traffic. The inlets to the sounds were part of this shifting sand bank, and they, too, were unpredictable and threatening. This natural blockade prohibited the use of the Chowan, Roanoke, Tar-Pamlico, and Neuse rivers as avenues for settlement. In North Carolina, only the Cape Fear River proved navigable for seagoing ships, but it was not opened until about 1720.

Political conditions also hampered the development of the colony. Carolina was originally conferred upon Sir Robert Heath in 1629, but he made no efforts to colonize the area. Following the Restoration, Charles II in 1663 granted the region (31 to 36 degrees of north latitude) to eight proprietors. The region was later divided into two separate political units—South Carolina and North Carolina. During the period of proprietary control (1663-1729), confusion and disorder often engulfed the North Carolina government.

The proprietary governors, some of whom were unusually inept and unscrupulous, were harassed, deposed, and even imprisoned by the indomitable, unhappy inhabitants of the colony. Because of its turbulent political life, the colony received a bad reputation that further retarded settlement. With the royalization of the colony, government became more effective and the political scene more peaceful.

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The Cape Fear River provided a waterway into the colony, but it was rarely used until the 1720's. Sand bars at the mouth of the river prohibited ships requiring a depth of more than eighteen feet from entering. Seagoing vessels as large as 300 tons were able to sail up the Cape Fear, however, and since most British seafaring vessels in the eighteenth century were smaller than 300 tons, the sand bars at the entrance to the Cape Fear were not a major obstacle to use of the river. The Tuscarora Indians residing in the area were not effectively subdued until 1715. Moreover, during the second decade of the eighteenth century, pirates held the mouth of the Cape Fear as their base of operations, menacing river traffic until the year 1718. Finally, in 1724, the land office for the Cape Fear region opened and settlement began along the river. It was in the upper reaches of the Northwest Cape Fear River that the Scottish Highlanders began to settle in the 1730's.

The date of the first settlement of Highlanders on the Cape Fear was probably 1732. Before 1700, several Lowland Scots resided in the colony. The first governor, William

Drummond, and one of the early members of the Council, Thomas Pollock, were both Lowlanders. It has been commonly believed that Highlanders were living in the upper Cape Fear area as early as 1729, but there are no documents to prove this claim. Land-grant records name James Innes (from Caithness), Hugh Campbell, and William Forbes as the first persons with Highland names to settle on the Cape Fear River. Innes is registered as having received a grant of 320 acres in Bladen County in January, 1732, and another of 640 acres sixteen months later. Campbell and Forbes secured their 640-acre grants in April and May of 1733. It was necessary for the grantee to be in the colony and personally to "prove" his land rights (i.e., convince the "governor in council" of his ability either personally or with family, servants, or slaves to cultivate the acreage of land requested). Until proof is presented of the presence of earlier Highlanders on the Cape Fear River, this group must be recognized as the first members of a colony that became populous in the next forty years.

Governor Gabriel Johnston, who arrived in the colony in November, 1734, traditionally has been given credit for encouraging the Highlanders to settle in the province and for bringing James Innes to it. It is evident that Innes worked closely with Johnston during the latter's term of office, 1734-52, but it is doubtful that Innes came to America because of Johnston, since Innes had already been in North Carolina at least fourteen months when Johnston arrived. Although Governor Johnston probably was not involved in the migration of James Innes to North Carolina, he did promote immigration into the colony. In 1740, following the landing of a group of 350 Highlanders, the Governor supported a proposal granting newly arrived "foreign Protestants exemption from Publick or County" taxes during their first ten

years in the colony. The sponsors of the bill stated that it was designed to encourage other Highlanders to come to North Carolina.

From the description of the land plots in the records of the Secretary of State of North Carolina, we can determine the location of the early settlement. Those who received the first grants traveled upstream over 100 miles beyond Wilmington. Hugh Campbell secured land on the Cape Fear River four miles above Rockfish Creek—this was only a short distance south of Cross Creek. William Forbes and James Innes received lands on the Cape Fear twenty-two miles above Rockfish Creek. Other grants were farther downstream, in an area 60 miles above Wilmington where Hammond Creek drains into the Cape Fear River.

Coming from the chilly climate of North Britain, the Highlanders had to adapt themselves to a new and different environment in North Carolina. Since the Cape Fear settlement was at thirty-five degrees north latitude, summers were warmer and winters milder and shorter than in the Highlands. In the winter months, snows were less frequent. The fear of hurricanes felt by some newcomers was lessened by the knowledge that the storms did not usually do "much mischief."

North Carolina contains three distinct geographic regions—the Coastal Plain, the Appalachian Piedmont, and the Appalachian Mountains. The Coastal Plain stretches inland from the Atlantic Ocean more than 100 miles. On this plain the rise in elevation from east to west is hardly noticeable, averaging only two feet per mile. The sand hills in the region of the upper Cape Fear River are the most prominent relief features of the Coastal Plain. This is the section in which the Highlanders settled, an area of hills, short ridges, and undrained depressions bordering on the upper Cape Fear River

and its tributaries. The light soil of the Coastal Plain—chiefly clay and sandy loam—was productive because of abundant rainfall. While the sand hills themselves were not fertile, the many bottom lands in the sand hills region produced excellent crops of Indian corn and European grains. The sand hills were covered with longleaf pine, a tree with a tap root long enough to reach the clay subsoil. It was from this tree that turpentine, rosin, pitch, and tar were extracted. During the eighteenth century, the naval stores that were the products of this industry constituted the chief exports from North Carolina. The fertile low regions between the sand hills were either canebrakes or thickets, heavily grown over with pea vines and other foliage. This was in contrast to the sand hills, which supported the pine trees, but little undergrowth.

Upon their arrival in North Carolina, the Scottish migrants disembarked either at Brunswick or Wilmington. Brunswick, the first town established on the Cape Fear River, was laid out in the mid-1720's. Although it became a port of entry and the seat of a custom house, the community was slow to grow. One visitor in 1775 described it as "but a straggling village." Since Brunswick was only twelve miles from the mouth of the river and since the major sand bars were seven miles above town, ships could easily reach the port. However, Wilmington, which developed in the latter part of the 1730's at the point of juncture of the Northeast Cape Fear and the Northwest Cape Fear, grew faster than its neighbor town sixteen miles downstream. The two communities were, for a time, spirited rivals for the trade of southeastern North Carolina; by the Revolution, Wilmington (originally called Newton or New Town) had outstripped Brunswick and had become the chief port on the Cape Fear River. Immigrant groups who were going inland welcomed the transportation

farther upstream. Thus the contract between James Hogg and James Inglis, Jr., stipulated that passengers and cargo were to be delivered at Wilmington. This saved Hogg extra transportation expense. Probably the Highlanders who arrived in North Carolina in the early 1730's landed at Brunswick. Later, although the people on large ships continued to disembark there, most passengers went upstream to Wilmington to land.

After landing at Wilmington or Brunswick, the new settlers faced a laborious ninety-mile trip up the Cape Fear River to the Cross Creek area where present day Fayetteville is located. In order to continue up the river, the colonists at Wilmington were forced to transfer to "long boats, lighters, and large canoes." This transportation was both slow and uncomfortable. A group of Moravians who rowed long boats up the Cape Fear considered that they made good time by averaging fourteen miles a day. At this rate, the voyage up to Cross Creek must have required at least a week.

The next town above Wilmington was the hub of the Scottish settlement. It was situated on the banks of Cross Creek, a stream that emptied into the Cape Fear River from the west, midway between Rockfish Creek and the Lower Little River. The two branches of Cross Creek merged only two miles above the mouth of the stream. It is the tradition of the area that the creek received its name because people believed the two streams crossed without mingling. At this junction a town developed in the early 1760's, and it was known simply as Cross Creek.

In 1760 the colonial assembly appointed a committee to determine the location of a proposed trading town on the upper Cape Fear River. Eight years later a bill was passed to establish a town called Campbellton on Cross Creek a short distance from the Cape Fear. To encourage merchants and

settlers to establish themselves there, Campbellton was named the seat of the court for Cumberland County. The assembly, however, had acted too slowly. Cross Creek, with its eight-year head start, grew to be a busy trading center; but eighteenth-century Campbellton, which had the endorsement of the Assembly, was never more than a small residential area with a courthouse.*

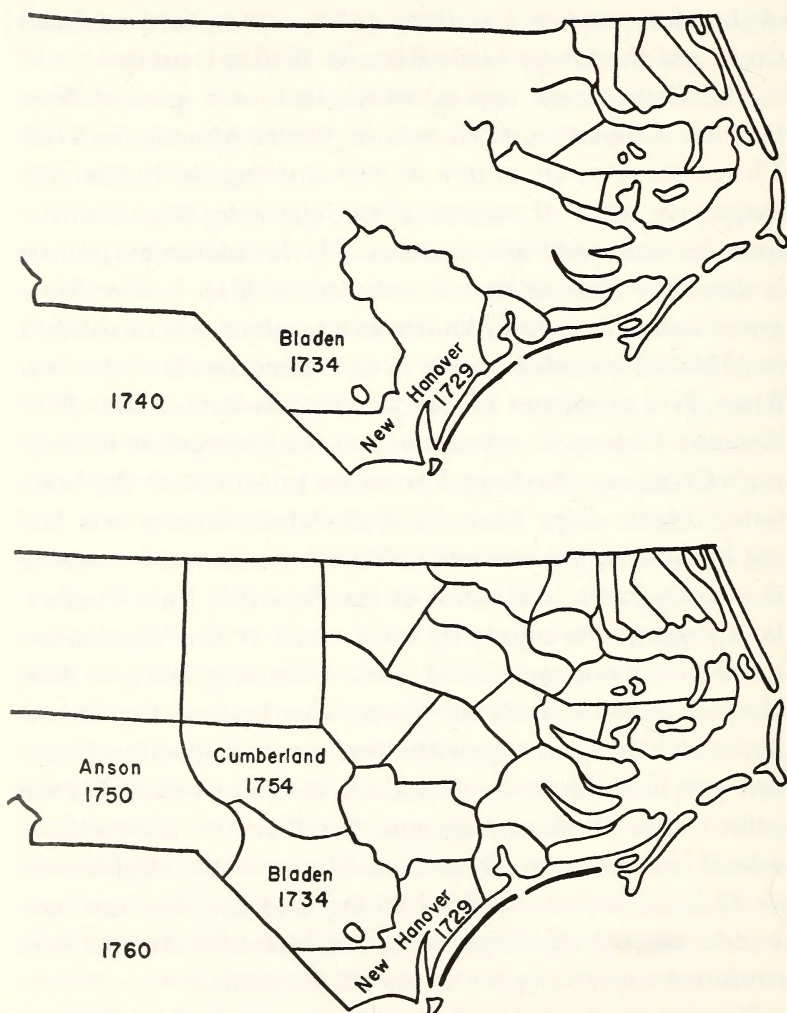
The first large group of Highlanders to make its way up the Cape Fear and settle in the Cross Creek area was a party of 350 from Argyllshire who disembarked in September, 1739. As with many migrations after the Forty-five, this group was led by members of the Highland gentry. In February, 1740, two of the leaders appeared before the Colonial Council asking special consideration for "themselves and several other Scotch Gentlemen and several poor people brought into this province." In response to the needy condition of many of the newly arrived Highlanders and in order to encourage other Highlanders to follow them, the upper house passed a bill, as we have seen, granting the immigrants release from tax payments for their first ten years in the colony. In addition to this, the bill requested that £1,000 of the public money be given to "Duncan Campbell, Dugald McNeal, Daniel McNeal, Coll. McAlister and Neal McNeal Esqrs to be by them distributed among the several families." The lower house agreed to the tax relief, but deferred action on the £1,000 dole. When the council met again in June, 1740, parcels of land were granted to this group. The leaders appear to have claimed large plots of land on the basis of the headrights of those whom they had brought to America. Duncan Campbell alone received 2,643 acres. Although this immigrant party consisted of 350 persons (eight-five or ninety

* In 1783 the settlements of Campbellton and Cross Creek were united and were incorporated as Fayetteville in honor of the Marquis de Lafayette.

families), only twenty-two individuals received land grants. All land granted was along the Cape Fear River, and most of the plots were on a section of that stream between Cross Creek and the Lower Little River in Bladen County.

The Cross Creek region, which had been part of New Hanover County in 1733, was in Bladen County in 1739. The constant stream of new settlers entering North Carolina frequently made it necessary to subdivide large frontier counties and to add new counties. The formation of counties in the Cape Fear section is recorded in Map I. New Hanover County (originally known as a precinct) was established in 1729 and included all the land drained by the Cape Fear River. Five years later Bladen County was formed from New Hanover County. It extended from the junction of Livingston's Creek and the Cape Fear as far northwest as the headwaters of the Cape Fear. In 1750 Anson County was laid out in the area just north of the South Carolina line, west of Drowning Creek, and south of the Granville line. Cumberland County, the county in which most of the Highlanders resided, was not established until 1754. Beginning a short distance south of Rockfish Creek, Cumberland County extended north to the Granville line, east to Drowning Creek, and west to South River. Ironically, the county probably was named after William Augustus, the Duke of Cumberland, second son of George II, who was known to the Highlanders as "Butcher Cumberland." Lacking evidence, one can only wonder whether the Highlander inhabitants of the area were consulted concerning the choice of the name.

The rate and size of this Scottish immigration into North Carolina are as difficult to determine from the colonial side as from the home side. Only fragments of the Port of Brunswick Record Book remain, and there is no complete record of the arrival of ships in the Cape Fear section.



MAP I. FORMATION OF COUNTIES IN THE CAPE FEAR BASIN

Other sources sometimes speak of the landing of Highlander immigrant parties, but fail to speak to the numbers involved. Governor Martin, when planning the uprisings of Loyalists in 1776, estimated that an army of "much greater numbers" than 3,000 could be raised among the Highlanders. The military potential of a population was considered at the ratio of one soldier for each group of four inhabitants. The colony of Highlanders, therefore, may well have numbered 12,000. This is obviously a rough estimate.

Since the influx of Scotsmen commenced shortly after the royalization of the colony in 1729, the disposal of unclaimed lands was the responsibility of crown officials. According to Board of Trade regulations, the governor, in consultation with the council (i.e., the "governor in council"), authorized grants of lands. Instructions to the first royal governors specified that persons desiring plots were to appear before meetings of the "governor in council" to prove their right to obtain land. But the infrequency of council meetings and the inconvenience of traveling long distances to attend them, obstructed the land-granting process and encouraged squatting. To make land more available to the people, Governor Gabriel Johnston and his council in 1741 delegated the power to prove land rights to the several county courts, where the inhabitants "could more conveniently attend and the number of the Families could be more easily known." The new settler, after finding a plot of unclaimed land, appeared with his family (servants and slaves included, if he had any) at the meeting of the county court. When the findings of the court were submitted to the governor's secretary, a warrant for the appropriate number of acres in the given county was issued. The precinct surveyor, upon receiving the warrant, marked out the stated number of acres on the chosen plot and returned a description of the site to the auditor's office. After

the payment of fees and the routine approval by the "governor in council," the settler received a land grant.

There were, of course, abuses in the granting of lands. It was a policy to grant a "right" to a person each time he entered the colony. One colonist, James Minge, crossed the border of the colony six times and his slave, Robin, crossed it four times. Minge then claimed ten head rights. Some grantees stretched their grants along the river, thus monopolizing the rich bottom lands. This practice ceased after royal surveyors were ordered "to take care that not above one fourth part of the land granted shall border upon the river, that is . . . there shall be four chains in depth backwards for every chain in front." In North Carolina there were few grants of large plots of land to English speculators. Those large grants that were made were granted by the Board of Trade, not by North Carolina officials. It is true that Henry McCulloh, a relative of Governor Johnston, held three grants totaling 190,000 acres. This was, however, contrary to the usual policy. The Board of Trade instructed the royal governors to disallow single grants larger than 640 acres. North Carolina was a colony of small landholders.

While the new settler could, if he had sufficient resources, buy an acreage from an earlier settler, he could not purchase land from the Crown. During the period of their control, 1663-1729, the lords proprietors had sold land for which they required an annual tax called a quitrent. These quitrents were smaller than those for land granted on a basis of head-rights. Royal officials did not sell land, but granted it free, subject only to a small surveying and transfer fee, and collected the same quitrent from all—four shillings proclamation money per hundred acres. Land in North Carolina was never held in fee simple; quitrents were always demanded. For the newly arrived Scottish settler with few resources,

the quitrent system was ideal. Those former Highland tenants who sold livestock and tools in order to pay the costs of migration often had little money left upon their arrival in America. In North Carolina the Highlander could secure a grant of land on the basis of headrights and his fees, at the most, amounted to only £1 sterling.

Not all Highlanders were able to receive land grants immediately. Some came to America as bound servants and served a term of years in return for their transportation. Others came penniless and could not afford to pay land grant fees or purchase the tools and animals necessary to build a shelter and begin farming. A few came as tradesmen seeking work, not land. For these reasons, a study of the land grants received by North Carolina Highlanders yields important, although not complete, information about the size and character of the upper Cape Fear settlement.

Fortunately, the land grant records in the office of the North Carolina Secretary of State in Raleigh are "nearly complete" for the colonial period and in a good state of preservation. These records show that 691 persons with Scottish Highland names received land grants from the Crown in the years 1732 to 1775. Included in the records is information on the size, date, and area of the grants. Some Highlanders, of course, purchased land outright from other settlers and did not receive land grants. The land transfer records for Cumberland County, where most Highlanders resided, list 312 sales to persons with Scottish Highland names between 1754, when the county was formed, and the Revolution.

Before 1753 the Highland migration was sporadic, with new groups receiving land in 1733, 1735, 1740, and 1753. The only one of these emigrations concerning which evidence (besides land grants) is available is the one that occurred

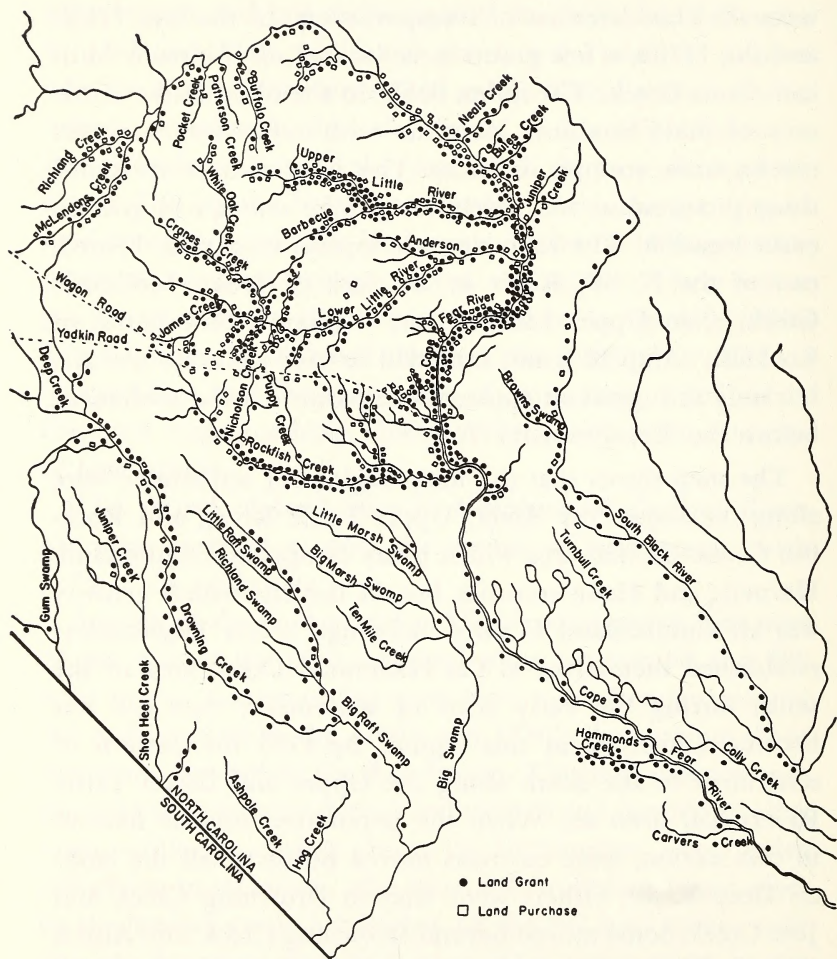
in 1740, when the immigrants appealed to the General Assembly for tax relief. The few grants in 1736 and 1737 were made to some who received plots in 1735 and to others who probably were part of the 1735 groups, but who, for some reason, did not receive grants the first year. Likewise, in 1741 and 1742, additional grants were made to persons who were part of the large 1740 group. There was no sizable influx immediately after the defeat of the Highlanders in the Forty-five; instead, the year 1747 shows a decrease in grants. During the French and Indian War, the granting of land continued, and the land grant figures of 1760 probably mean that a large group entered the colony. There was a gradual increase in the number of grants in the late 1760's and the early 1770's until the peak was reached in 1774. It is significant that the rising tide of emigration described in the *Scots Magazine* from 1768 to 1774 is reflected in the rate of land grants.

The record of land sales in Cumberland County shows the same increase as does the record of land grants, with 1774 as the peak year.

A study of the land grants to Highlanders shows that over 60 per cent of the plots acquired were between 50 and 200 acres in size. Grants of 640 acres were more frequent among the early settlers in the 1730's and 1740's than among those who came just before the Revolution. This may indicate that the later settlers came over as individuals and secured smaller plots, while the earlier groups of Highlanders were under obligation to tacksmen, who were able to obtain larger plots on the basis of group headrights. Of the 691 land grants, only one was for more than 640 acres. This was a grant in the year 1749 for 1,000 acres. It was clearly contrary to the Board of Trade policy for the "governor in council" to make a grant of that size.

The settlement can be roughly traced by approximating the location of the 691 land grants and the 312 purchases on a map of the Cape Fear area. With few exceptions, all grants were located either upon or close to rivers, since waterways were the chief avenues of transportation. In the late 1760's and the 1770's, a few grants were located on the roads built into Cross Creek. The index books in the office of the Secretary of State establish locations with reference to rivers, creeks, trees, stumps, or rocks. The brief entries are sometimes picturesque, but rarely are precise enough to give an exact location. The following are typical examples: "North east of the N. W. River at the fork of Hugh McCranes Creek," "on Upper Little River," "about a mile South of Rockfish." Map II is not intended to give an exact picture, but only to suggest an approximate pattern of the settlement before the Revolutionary War.

The map shows that the main regions of settlement were along the Cape Fear River, Upper Little River, and Rockfish Creek—in that area which today comprises Cumberland, Harnett, and Hoke counties but in the eighteenth century was all Cumberland County. Although a few Highlanders established themselves in the Hammond Creek area to the south during the early years of settlement, they did not become numerous in this region. By 1753 the pattern of settlement to the north along the Upper and Lower Little Rivers had been set. When the population became heavier in this section, some colonists moved north to till the lands on Deep River. Others went west to Drowning Creek and Joes Creek. Some moved beyond Drowning Creek into Anson County, but their area of settlement cannot be easily determined because of the numerous Scotch-Irish families in that region.



MAP II. LAND GRANTS AND PURCHASES SECURED BY HIGHLANDERS, 1733-1775

Thus, by 1775, a large body of Highlanders was situated along the rivers in the sand hills region of the upper Cape Fear. Because land was plentiful and they had come from an agricultural society, the majority of Highlanders became farmers in North Carolina.

For the Highlanders, landing in North Carolina marked the beginning of a new life. Of course, in the Cape Fear settlement Gaelic was spoken, some relatives and friends were near, and certain Highland customs persisted, but the changes were nevertheless many and great. The new climate and terrain required many adjustments. To exploit the soil, different agricultural methods had to be learned and new crops planted. Since the Scots were moving into a frontier area, homes had to be built and lands cleared before the normal pursuits of the planter could begin. In the midst of a struggle for physical existence, these immigrants re-established the church they had known in the Old World, took part in a new political system, and adapted themselves to the language and living habits of the non-Highlanders about them. For many who before 1745 had lived under the protective custody of the tribal system, the migration to America constituted the final step to personal independence, since in America the Highlanders wrestled with nature and shaped a new society with neither the help nor the protection of clan and chief.

The economic activity in which most North Carolina Highlanders engaged was agriculture. There were merchants, clergymen, tailors, and shoemakers, too, but the overwhelming majority of the Highlanders cultivated either their own land or the land of another. The Scots normally arrived in the fall or early winter and began working on their acreage as soon as the land was surveyed. The season in which they arrived was determined by several factors. By

departing from Scotland in the fall, the tenants received the benefits of the year's crop. By arriving in North Carolina in early winter, the immigrants came at a time of plenty, could secure an acreage to be tilled the following year, and had sufficient time to adapt themselves to the climate before the summer brought "fluxes, fevers and agues."

Having secured a survey of his chosen plot, the new settler proceeded to fell enough longleaf pines to build a shelter for the family. In the area thus cleared, he usually constructed a log home chinked with clay, although clapboard houses appeared with greater frequency after the sawmills were built. The settlers cultivated the land lying along the streams and put stock to graze in the back areas. Preparing land for cultivation did not involve cutting down more trees. The colonists killed a tree by removing a ring of bark, which caused the trees to drop their foliage and allowed the sun to reach the crops.

Because of the obstruction of roots and trees in the fields, planters found it difficult to use plows. Although a few farmers had plows in the 1760's, most planters employed hoes both to turn over the soil and to weed it later. The high cost of transportation made farm tools expensive and highly prized. The simplicity of the agriculture can be seen in the inventories of estates at that time. Typically, farmers used only such equipment as a knife, a hammer, a saw, several horseshoes, an ax, an ox chain, a spade, a saddle, a cart, shears, several iron wedges, several hoes, and a basket or tub.

In the fields prepared for cultivation, the settlers planted Indian corn, wheat, oats, peas, beans, flax, or sweet potatoes. The soil produced well at first but was exhausted shortly. The settlers did not attempt to restore the fertility of the soil through grasses or manures. Land was so plentiful that it was easier to abandon the old field and prepare a new one for cultivation.

Some settlers built mills on their land, both for their own use and to provide a source of income. In 1736, the governor and colonial council issued a proclamation that the construction of a sawmill in the Cape Fear section would be sufficient for maintaining title to a 640-acre grant without any cultivation of the land. Both gristmills and sawmills were needed by the new settlers. Governor Dobbs reported to the Board of Trade in 1764 that forty sawmills had already been erected on the branches of Cape Fear.

The simplest form of enterprise for those who were new in the colony was animal husbandry—raising horses, cattle, and hogs. Since there were no fences, not even around some cultivated fields, the stock roamed about freely in search of food. Planters attempted to keep the stock tame and near home by putting out salt for them once a week. The cows returned to the plantation yard each evening when the calves were penned up. In early summer, there was customarily a roundup, and it was at this time that the owners branded their calves and enclosed cattle to be sold. Brands were registered with the colonial authorities. The system of common grazing areas was not new to the Highlanders; it was the method of grazing used in North Britain before the coming of the enclosure movement. About the size of these herds, the author of *American Husbandry* reported to his English readers that herds of cattle up to 2,000 head were not uncommon in North Carolina. The few inventories of estates of Highlanders now available show herds of 36, 27, 15, 22, 30, and 10 head each. Loyalist claims, which were sometimes inflated, indicate that some Highlander farmers owned large numbers of livestock. Daniel Ray claimed ownership of 8 horses, 40 cattle, and 100 hogs in 1776. Soirle MacDonald testified that when he fled his plantation he left behind 7 horses, 53 cattle, and 264 hogs. Cattle and hogs to

be sold usually were driven to Charleston. Some cattle and hogs were butchered in the Highlander settlement and the meat placed in barrels and salted. The casks were then moved down the river to Wilmington on flat boats and finally reached the West Indies for sale there. However, competition from Pennsylvania and scarcity of salt in the upper Cape Fear area curtailed this meat-exporting enterprise.

It is well known that during the eighteenth century North Carolina exported more naval stores than any other colony. Since the Highlanders lived in the region of the longleaf pine, it might be expected that they were among those who produced tar, pitch, turpentine, rosin, masts, and spars. But evidence that any of them did take part in that economic activity is by no means clear. The inventory of the estate of Thomas Rutherford, who lived just south of Cross Creek, seems to show that he produced ninety-three barrels of tar, which were sold to a Wilmington merchant. If Rutherford could produce tar, then his Highlander neighbors may have done so too.

To this point, all that has been said about the economic activity of the planters has referred to those who held their own land either through grant from the Crown, or direct purchase from an earlier settler. There is little information about the large number of Highlanders who did not possess their own land. One source states that large holders assigned portions of their lands to these poor Highlanders, who became tenants. The owner supplied the necessary tools and livestock. In return, the tenant paid the owner, yearly, one-third of the crops produced and one-third of the increase of the livestock.

Besides the Highlanders who secured their own plantations and those who became tenants, there was yet a third category of immigrants. These came as indentured servants.

In return for their transportation to the New World, they were bound to serve their employers for a set period of years. There is no evidence on which an estimate of the size of this group can be based. The term of indenture for Highlanders varied from three years to five years. After 1741, the freed servant received £3 proclamation money and a suit of clothes. Moreover, he could then qualify for a land grant on the basis of headrights.

Although slaves were not so numerous in the inland counties as on the sea-board, Cumberland County had a relatively large number of them. The first federal census in 1790 provided reliable statistics on slaveholding. There were in Cumberland County 717 slaves owned by people with Scottish Highlander names. The Highlander population of the county in 1790 was 2,834; the ratio of slaves to Highlanders was, therefore, one to four.

The number of slaves held by Cumberland Highlanders varied widely, though one-third of the Highlander slave-owners possessed only one slave. The census returns for 1790 provided names of the large slaveholders. Farquard Campbell had 50 slaves, William Gordon 17, "Coll" McAlister 15, Alexander McAlister 40, Archibald McDuffie 13, John McLean 41, Archibald McKay, Jr., 19, and Archibald McNeil, Sr., 30. The fact that numerous Highlanders held slaves, and held them as early as the 1760's, supports the statements of the *Scots Magazine* that the migration was led by men of "wealth and merit" and that it was not merely an exodus of the exploited poor.

Fortunately for the newcomer, a benevolent nature made easier the task of feeding his family. A variety of fruits, berries, and grains were available to those who would harvest them. Mulberries, persimmons, plums, cherries, bramble-berries, raspberries, Spanish figs, and a grain called "wild

corn or rye," all grew wild. Grapes, however, were the most plentiful fruit. Both blue and white grapes flourished on the bottom lands and the uplands. On some small streams grape vines grew up the trees on either bank and finally arched the creek. Wild meat was also plentiful. Rabbits, turkeys, partridges, pheasants, wild ducks, and geese abounded. Bear meat was considered "very wholesome" by the Highlanders' Moravian neighbors, who thought bear fat "as good as olive oil" with salad. Deer were prized since they provided venison, and deerskin to clothe the settlers as well. In the rivers and streams the colonists found perch, pike, and rockfish. In these ways, the forests, streams, and uncleared fields gave valuable assistance to the colonists attempting to subsist in the New World.

Most of the Highlanders engaged in agriculture, as we have seen; a few of these Scottish planters also had other occupations. John Campbell was, in addition, a surveyor: John Clark, a tailor; Angus McDugal, a weaver; Neil McNeil, a shoemaker; Allen Cameron, a millwright; and Patrick McEachin, a blacksmith. In Scotland, many Highlanders had combined another craft or occupation with agriculture. For example, some Highland tenants were also fishermen, kelp burners, weavers, or tailors. When they came to America, they brought their skills and were ready to carry on activities other than farming.

A few of the Highlanders in North Carolina became merchants. Fortunately, the Gaelic colony had developed in an area that needed a trading town. The settlers of the upper Cape Fear and nearby Piedmont area required a closer center where they might dispose of their surplus and purchase needed articles. Cross Creek, which was located on a branch of the Cape Fear River and was served by two roads from the west, filled the need. Three gristmills there converted grain

from the back country into flour and meal. Cattle and hogs were slaughtered. Merchants also purchased such varied items as hides, lard, lumber, barrel staves, and tar, and these products, along with the meat and grain, were floated down to Wilmington on long rafts. The merchants returned in boats with merchandise to be sold to the settlers. Among the products in demand among the colonists were needles, buttons, thread, buckles, silk, nutmeg, slat, pepper, molasses, rum, powder, and iron products such as hinges and hoes. As the instrument of this exchange, the merchant played a valuable role in the economic life of the section.

Highlanders were prominent among the merchants of Cross Creek. Those most active in the town were William Campbell; Robert Gillies; James Hogg, acting as an agent for his brother's firm of Hogg and Campbell; Neil McArthur; Clark and McLeran; Robert Donaldson and Company; and Bachop and Patterson. For shrewd merchants, profits were high. Neil McArthur came to Cross Creek in 1764 with only a little property, but by 1775 he reported he was worth over £4,600. Although merchants ordinarily carried a wide variety of goods, one Highlander in Cross Creek was a specialist. Murdock McLeod, a surgeon and apothecary, sold only medicines.

The population of Cross Creek was not predominantly Gaelic. The records of sales of lots from 1760 to 1775 show that only twenty individuals with Highlander names bought lots in the town, while 144 non-Highlanders purchased lots in the same period. In nearby Campbellton, the Highlanders bought only one lot during the 1760-75 period. Thus, although the Highlanders were represented in Cross Creek and some were prominent men in the town, Cross Creek was a settlement largely of non-Highlanders. Most of the

Highlanders preferred to live on plantations and to earn their livelihood through agriculture.

The Highlanders who came to North Carolina were Presbyterians, and they built churches of their denomination in the colony. There is no evidence of Highlanders in other churches in the upper Cape Fear area. Although there were regions of North Britain that remained Catholic or Episcopalian in the last half of the eighteenth century, most areas either were or became Presbyterian. The religion of the Lowlands spread through the north mainly as a result of the effective work of the Presbyterian Society for the Propagation of Christian Knowledge. Many, if not most, of the North Carolina Highlanders were from Argyllshire; and Argyllshire was overwhelmingly Presbyterian by 1750 (4,000 Catholics and 62,000 Presbyterians). When Duncan Campbell, one of the leaders of the group of 350 that migrated to North Carolina in 1739, returned to Argyllshire in 1741, he attempted to find a pastor for the flock of transported Highlanders. Because the prospects of receiving an adequate "salary" in North Carolina were "inconsiderable," Campbell found it impossible to secure a Gaelic-speaking minister. He petitioned the Presbytery and the Society to provide the first year's salary for the transportation of the clergyman to America. The Society granted £21 for the project, but for unknown reasons a minister was not sent. The colonists were without a permanent pastor until 1758.

The Highlanders were first visited by a Presbyterian minister in January of 1756. This clergyman was Hugh McAden, an itinerant preacher to the Scottish and Scotch-Irish settlements of North Carolina. In October, 1758, the Highlanders contracted for the services of their first minister, the Reverend James Campbell of Pennsylvania. According to tradition, Campbell, a native of Argyllshire, came to North

Carolina after hearing of the religious needs of the Cape Fear Scots from Hugh McAden. Under Campbell's leadership, the Highlanders founded at least three churches.

Since the Highlanders were dispersed over a wide area, they could not attend one church. The Reverend James Campbell served the several congregations on alternate Sundays. One congregation met in "Rogers Meeting House," a simple structure near Roger McNeil's plantation and only a short distance from Hector McNeil's bluff on the Cape Fear. Alexander McAlister, Farquard Campbell, Hector McNeil, and Duncan McNeil served as elders of the church. A second church was built about 1765 on Barbecue Creek. This church ministered to the needs of the people residing on both the Upper and Lower Little Rivers and their immediate tributaries. While Flora McDonald lived at Cameron's Hill, she attended the Barbecue Church. Members of a third congregation continued for several years to meet in the home of Alexander McKay, as they had when Hugh McAden came to preach to them. About the year 1766, this congregation also constructed a meetinghouse, called Longstreet Church. The church was so named because of its location on the Yadkin Road. Although most of the members of the churches were Highlanders, enough other settlers attended to make it necessary for Campbell to preach sermons in both English and Gaelic each Sunday.

Campbell labored alone until about the year 1770, when the Reverend John McLeod arrived in the colony with a group of immigrants. Campbell and McLeod jointly ministered to the Highlanders until the outbreak of the Revolution, when both were forced to flee. McLeod, a Tory, joined the men under General Donald McDonald and fought with the Loyalist army at Moore's Creek Bridge. After being captured and imprisoned for a short time, the minister was

released by the Patriots on condition that he leave the colony. He complied immediately. Campbell, on the other hand, was an ardent Revolutionary Patriot who left the Highlanders at the outset of the war to minister to the Scotch-Irish in Mecklenburg and Guilford counties. The fruitful seventeen-year pastorate of James Campbell came to an end because of political differences with his fellow Highlanders. It may be said that the religious organization of the Highlander settlement was due almost entirely to his efforts.

The society at the head of the Cape Fear River was not composed entirely of Scottish Gaels. Approximately half of the inhabitants were from other areas of Europe. Records of the time reveal the names of English, Irish, Welsh, German, Lowland Scottish, and even French settlers residing in Cumberland County. The Highlanders were among the first to settle the upper Cape Fear section, and they came to constitute the largest national group in the area. It is doubtful, however, that they ever numbered many more than 50 per cent of the population.

Within the colony of North Carolina, the Highlanders were surrounded by other national groups. To the south, along the mouth of the Cape Fear, were the large plantations owned mostly by English settlers. East of the Highlanders, groups of Welsh, Scotch-Irish, Swiss, and a small company of Irish migrants had established themselves. To the north, above the Haw River, another English settlement was located. Both north and west of the Highlanders were mixed settlements of Germans and Scotch-Irish. These surrounding peoples traded in Cross Creek, and in time a few did settle within the areas of Bladen, Cumberland, and Anson counties. Records of land transfers show that the Gaels continually bought land from and sold land to the non-Highlanders.

LEABHRAICHE
 A N
 T-SEANN TIOMNAIDH,
 A IR AN TARRUING
 O'N CHEUD CHANAIN CHUM
GAELIC ALBANNAICH.
 ANN AN CEITHIR EARRANNAISH.

E A R R A N N I.

Air iarrtas na Cuideachd urramaich, a ta chum
 eòlas CRÌOSDAIDH a sgaoileadh air feadh
 Gaeltachd agus eileana na h-ALBA.

CLÒDH-BHUAILTE 'AN DUN-EIDIN,
 Le UILLIAM SMELLIE.

M,DCC,LXXXIII.

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TITLE PAGE OF NEW TESTAMENT IN GAELIC
 PRINTED AT DUN-EIDEN, SCOTLAND, IN 1783.
 Courtesy of University of North Carolina Library.

The language barrier did not prove to be a serious handicap for the Highlanders. Samuel Johnson noted when he made his tour of the Highlands that the tacksmen, lairds, and ministers could speak English. We know such leaders in the North Carolina settlement as Farquard Campbell and Alexander McAlister spoke and wrote English, and probably all the other prominent Highlanders in the colony did, too. In the Highlands in the eighteenth century, the Society for the Propagation of Christian Knowledge established and operated the schools, and instruction in them was in English. As a consequence, all educated people knew English. Moreover, those who learned informally to read used English, for there was little printed in the Scottish dialect of Gaelic. Not until 1767 did the New Testament appear in that language. In North Carolina, contact with English-speaking neighbors and the use of English in some church services made the language more familiar to the Gaels. But in spite of schools and books and church, the common people, in North Carolina, as in North Britain, continued to use Gaelic far into the nineteenth century. The last Gaelic sermon in North Carolina was preached in 1860. The language today is virtually unknown to those who live along the upper Cape Fear.

Highlanders displayed much interest in education. James Innes set aside £100 in his will "For the Use of a Free School for the Benefite of the Youth of North Carolina." After his death, the executors of his estate organized Innes Academy in Wilmington. Of the twenty-two wills made by Cumberland County Highlanders which are in the State Archives at Raleigh, half were made by people who could not sign their names. Malcolm Blue, one of those who used his mark to sign his will, in 1764 bequeathed "the sum of eight pound prok. [proclamation] money to my four young-

est children to get them school." Patrick Campbell, who could write, ordered in his will of 1775 that all his possessions not specifically given to anyone else "Be appropriated for the Schooling and Raering the Children." It is not clear where Blue's or Campbell's children received schooling. It is highly possible that James Campbell, the minister, acted as schoolteacher during the week, since other Presbyterian ministers in North Carolina were serving in that dual capacity.

In spite of plentiful land and a bountiful nature, life in North Carolina was difficult for the new Gaelic settler, particularly if he arrived without financial resources. Governor Martin, 1772, welcomed the Scots as a fine addition to the colony. Three years later Martin wondered if they could subsist in America. In March, 1775, he wrote to the Earl of Dartmouth, "Surely, my Lord, the Scotch Landlords are much wanting in their own interest if not humanity in expelling so many wretched people from their country who were useful there and who will perish many of them here before they can learn to live." Combined with the many difficulties of making a living on a frontier plantation was the further problem of illness. Particularly in the low and swampy regions, "fevers" were common. The eighteenth century applied the term "fevers" principally to typhoid fever, yellow fever, and malaria. The New World brought gifts, but it also brought new difficulties and dangers.

Most of the settlers appear to have been below the age of forty on their arrival in the colony. James Innes was in his early thirties and "Coll" McAlister and Farquard Campbell of the 1739 company were probably even younger, since they were still enumerated in the 1790 census. The records for a group of thirty families who left from Caithness indicate that the average age for heads of families in this group

was thirty-eight. There were, however, a remarkable number of older immigrants. The company from Caithness included John Catanoch, 55; Aeneas McLeod, 60; William McDonald, 71; and Hector McDonald, 75. The average age of the settlers was lowered by the many children who came. On the Emigration Lists for 1774-75, a little more than half those numbered were children. For a total of 83 families, the average number of children per family was 2.1.

The Scottish colonists furnished their homes simply. Because of the great distance from manufacturers and the difficulty and expense of transportation, they possessed a minimum of furniture and personal effects. The women prepared and served food with several iron pots, an iron ladle, a flesh fork, a knife, a trammel (adjustable pot hook), fire tongs, a griddle, pewter dishes, knives, and forks. Larger pieces of furniture such as tables, chairs or stools, and chests were frequently homemade and crude. The settler family also had feather beds, blankets, several spinning wheels, and a pot rack. The fullest information on clothing is contained in the inventory of the estate of Neil Buie. The list included "2 jackets, 2 britches, 1 pr trowsers 1 pr stockings 1 bonnet a handkerchief . . . 1 pair of garters . . . a silver broach 2 shirts." Those who came to America with wealth, of course, had greater possessions. John Brown held title to only 200 acres in Cumberland County, but his inventory of estate noted such luxuries as "2 smoothing irons and 1 looking glass." Archibald Clark's inventory listed "1 pair of silver buckles 1 stock buckle 1 pair sleeve buttons . . . 1 Bible—3 other books five Catechism . . . 17 gallons of rum . . . 1 drinking glass." Other Highlanders kept large stores of liquor in their homes; Soirle MacDonald reported 200 gallons of brandy seized at his home by Patriots after the Battle of Moore's Creek. Allan McDonald was

among the wealthiest people in the colony. His Loyalist claim for compensation stated that furniture, books, and silver plate worth £500 fell into the hands of those who plundered his estate.

When living conditions of the Highlanders who remained in Scotland are compared with those of the settlers in North Carolina, several important differences are apparent. In both places, of course, there were wealthy and poor, with great contrasts in housing, from gloomy dens to well-furnished manors. The Highland tacksmen in Scotland lived stylishly, although Samuel Johnson did not think the tacksmen's homes as luxurious as those of similar gentry in England. He found the homes and the furniture were "not always nicely suited." After an excellent meal, he was escorted by his host to his bedroom where he discovered

an elegant bed of Indian cotton, spread with fine sheets. The accommodation was flattering; I undressed myself, and felt my feet in the mire. The bed stood upon the bare earth, which a long course of rain had softened to a puddle.

Janet Schaw, who visited North Carolina in 1774, found a similarly incongruous situation there. She was entertained in the home of an unnamed Cape Fear planter whom she described only as a "Gentleman." She found his home well-furnished, with an excellent library including fine globes, a telescope, and "Mathematical instruments." The meal was served on china and silver, but Miss Schaw described the house itself as little better than one of his slave's huts. On the other hand, Allan McDonald, who was "embarrassed in his affairs" in Scotland, brought to America over £1,000 and settled in Anson County. He purchased a plantation of 475 acres, of which seventy acres were already clear. On the plantation were a fine home, three orchards, barn, storehouse, kitchen, stable corn crib, and gristmill. McDonald brought

five indentured male servants and three indentured female servants to perform the agricultural and domestic work of the plantation. He valued the furniture, books, and silver in the home to be worth £500. Again the lengthy inventory of the estate of Mrs. Jean Corbin (Mrs. James Innes) suggests that wealthy Highlanders in America had homes as well-furnished as those in Scotland. The many items in her inventory included: "14 Silver Knives, 20 do [ditto] forks, 2 Diamond Rings, 6 Punch Bowls, 8 Looking Glasses, 5 Mahogany dining Tables, 12 Leather bottom'd Chairs, 1 Backgammon Table, 12 Large Table Cloths."

There appears to have been some improvement in the living conditions of the tenant-class Highlanders who came to North Carolina. In Scotland, such people lived in huts constructed either of sod or of stones, without windows or chimney. A hole in the roof at the center of the room provided some escape for the smoke and allowed a small amount of light to enter. In one end of the home, the livestock spent the winter, with only a few bars separating this area from the living space. The more fortunate had a bedchamber adjoining the main room; most simply slept on the ground around the fires. Within the cabin could be found a table, one or two stools, a chain suspended from the ceiling and hanging from the chain an iron pot, a shelf, a chest or dresser, and a blanket and mattress, both filthy. Homes for this class in North Carolina were constructed of better building material. Log homes with shingled roofs were cleaner, better able to withstand rain, and had chimneys. Most homes originally had earthen floors, but the ready supply of lumber made it possible later to lay wooden floors. Crude furniture could be more easily constructed in North Carolina, where wood was plentiful. Most settlers also had tables, stools, beds, and chests. Although the migrant of the tenant

class did not have many new possessions or luxuries in America, it is clear that he resided in a home that was superior to the Highland huts. Further, the ready access to productive land and the bounty of nature provided a larger food supply for the tenant class that settled in America. In North Britain, however, tenants in the last half of the eighteenth century had little besides their staples of oatmeal and potatoes. The Highlander in North Carolina had prospects of further improving his lot, but the pressure of population and the inadequate food supply in Scotland gave the average tenant there less hope of bettering his living conditions. In summary, while migration did not greatly change the living conditions of the tacksmen, it did result in improved conditions for the tenants.

From the time of their arrival in North Carolina, the Highlanders took an active role in the political life of North Carolina. James Innes, one of the first to settle in the colony, had the most impressive record of public service. As early as 1734, he accepted the post of justice of the peace in New Hanover precinct. Following the outbreak in 1739 of the War of Jenkins' Ear, North Carolina sent troops to join the British forces in the West Indies. In Admiral Vernon's disastrous assault on Cartagena, Innes, then a captain, commanded the North Carolina troops. He was among the few Carolinians to survive the battle. After returning to North Carolina, he accepted a seat on the Council in 1750. Innes was also known in other colonies as a military leader, and his role of greatest responsibility came during the French and Indian War. Governor Dinwiddie of Virginia appointed Innes, his close friend, as commander-in-chief of the expedition against the French and Indians in the Ohio Valley. Innes, who was then a colonel, promptly made his will and proceeded to Virginia with a body of North Carolina troops.

Upon hearing of the appointment, George Washington wrote Governor Dinwiddie that he was happy to serve under Innes, "an experienced officer and man of sense." Because of orders from London, Innes was replaced as commander of all provincial troops four months later, but he continued as the commander of Fort Cumberland.

Many other Highlanders took public positions. Only five months after the arrival in 1739 of the group of 350 from Ayrshire, its leaders, Duncan Campbell, Dugald McNeil, "Coll" McAlister, and Neil McNeil, became justices of the peace. In 1758 Hector McNeil claimed £10 as his salary as Cumberland County sheriff. John Steward, another Highlander, succeeded McNeil. Cumberland County representatives to the House of Assembly were usually Highlanders. Hector McNeil served in 1761, and Alexander McCallister (McAlister) joined him in the next year. In 1764, Farquard Campbell became a member of the House of Assembly and served until the outbreak of the Revolution. Later Campbell was a delegate to several revolutionary conventions.

James Hogg, a tacksman from Caithness, served on the Hillsboro Committee of Safety during the Revolution. He was also one of the first trustees of the University of North Carolina, which opened its doors in 1795.

It is noteworthy that the Cape Fear Highlanders immediately accepted responsibilities in colonial government and produced several political leaders. They were sure to become involved—one way or another—in the revolutionary struggle that started in the 1770's.

CHAPTER IV

The American Revolution

To those Highlanders who had hoped that by coming to America they might escape the tears and travail of repeated civil wars, the outbreak of the American Revolution must have come as a grim disappointment. Now, for the third time in the eighteenth century, the Highlanders had to go through the agony of choosing sides, to accept the strain and the waste of battle, and to face a bitter defeat. Considering both their military experience and their military reputation, it is understandable that they were drawn into the revolutionary conflict in North Carolina. In view of their previous history, the remarkable development is that in this war they are found defending a king of the hated House of Hanover. What can account for this switch in allegiance? How was it possible to transform chronic rebels into dogged Loyalists? It is the purpose of this chapter to describe the events leading to the crucial Battle of Moore's Creek Bridge and, using sources of information from Revolutionary days, to explain as fully as possible the reasons for the Loyalist stand of the North Carolina Highlanders.

The outbreak of the American Revolution cannot be explained by a single cause or single act. In the American Revolution, as in the bloody French Revolution which occurred a few years later, there were many factors which precipitated the conflict. Probably more than anything else, it was the accumulation of numerous grievances during the period from 1763 to 1775 which finally led the colonists to arms. Few, if any, of the Americans plotted rebellion from Britain during this time. But as Englishmen they did protest what they considered to be denials of their rights. In colony after

colony, in the decade before the war, angry citizens were arguing heatedly, signing lengthy petitions, attending angry protest meetings, and threatening economic reprisals against the mother country. The colonists were reacting to Crown policies such as the Proclamation Line of 1763, the Sugar Act of 1764, writs of assistance, the Stamp Act, the Townshend Acts, the cost of quartering troops, the Tea Act, and the Coercive Acts.

The North Carolina Highlanders, living as a relatively isolated inland community, were not involved and probably not much concerned with many of these issues. Colonial documents fail to shed much light on the attitudes of the Highlanders toward Crown policies before 1771. There are, however, some indications of the feelings and actions of the people of Cumberland County in regard to two prewar issues—the Stamp Act and the uprising of the Regulators.

William Tryon, one of North Carolina's most capable and effective colonial governors, had just taken office in 1765 when the stamp conflict arose. A steadfast defender of the Crown's rights, Tryon was able to suppress the Regulators, but he failed to enforce the sale of the hated stamps in the colony. Even before the passage of the Stamp Act, when the news reached North Carolina in October, 1764, that such a bill was being considered, the Assembly expressed its conviction that no other body had the right to impose taxes upon the citizens of the colony. After the Stamp Act became law, the residents of the lower Cape Fear area centering around Wilmington protested vigorously. The courts of the colony ceased to function because people either refused to, or could not, purchase the necessary stamps for legal papers. Finally, to the relief of everyone, Parliament repealed the Stamp Act.

The people of Cumberland County were concerned about the proposed stamp tax, and some of them openly opposed it. Unfortunately, we do not know to what degree the Highlanders were involved. In the fall of 1765, a group of the Cross Creek inhabitants gathered to burn in effigy Dr. Houston, the stamp officer. Several months later, a letter in the *North Carolina Gazette* called upon the citizens of North Carolina to open by force the mouth of the Cape Fear and to drive out the British warships. For printing the letter, Andrew Stewart, a Highlander with the title of "His majesty's printer for this province," lost his commission.

In the Regulation controversy, the Highlanders played a more active role. The dispute, which began with peaceful petitions by the Piedmont planters in 1765, ended in the Battle of Alamance in 1771. The planters, underrepresented in the Assembly, lived in a region where money was scarce. The petitioners protested the illegal fees demanded by clerks and county registers of deeds, and the illegal levying and collecting of taxes. The Regulators stopped paying taxes, invaded the courts to halt the proceedings, and whipped court officials whom they captured. After several attempts to appease them, Governor Tryon in 1771 determined to restore law and order in the Piedmont area. Calling up the militia, he organized two military groups to march into the Regulator territory. In Cumberland County the Governor ordered Farquard Campbell and James Rutherford to raise 100 men. Campbell, a long-time political leader of the Highlanders, indicated there would be no difficulty in raising the men. This would seem to show that the Cumberland people were not in sympathy with the Regulators. However, three years earlier, Judge Edmund Fanning had charged that the "principal men of Cumberland" were encouraging the Regulators. If the Highlanders were involved with the Regula-

tors during the early years of the movement, and they may well have been, they made no attempt to stand with the Regulators in the crucial year of 1771. One of the Governor's armed columns which marched from Wilmington to Salisbury passed through both Cumberland and Anson counties without any difficulty from Regulators there. In fact, General Waddell increased his troops in Cumberland and Anson counties. Finally, on May 16, 1771, the Regulators and Governor Tryon's army met in Guilford County, and in the ensuing Battle of Alamance, Tryon's militiamen defeated the inadequately armed and disorganized Regulators. Having successfully suppressed the rebels, Tryon immediately departed for New York to take his post as governor of that colony.

Josiah Martin, the last royal governor of North Carolina, was the unfortunate man chosen to succeed Tryon. During Martin's five years in the colony, relations between the Governor and the Assembly grew steadily worse. During Tryon's term, the Assembly had occasionally co-operated with the Governor; during Martin's term co-operation appeared to be a sign of weakness, and neither side would make concessions. For that reason, little legislation was passed after 1771. Martin's term began with hostility in the colony and ended with war.

In the years 1771 to 1775, several intra-colony disputes created ill will between Governor and Assembly. During this time, the Governor's conciliatory treatment of the Regulators, while it endeared him to some of the Regulators, further alienated the Assembly.

Beginning in 1773, events outside the colony served to widen the gap between Governor and Assembly. Leaders of the lower house by the latter part of 1773 despaired of working with the Governor and were willing to make bolder

moves. As a protest against the tax on tea, the Assembly organized a Committee of Correspondence designed to share grievances with other colonies and to co-ordinate actions. When the British government responded to the Boston Tea Party with the Intolerable Acts, many North Carolinians were aroused. The leading men of Wilmington met in July of 1774 to protest the cruelties at Boston and the closing of the port. Among those signing the protest were Archibald Maclaine, a prominent merchant whose people had come from the island of Mull, and Robert Hogg, brother of James Hogg. William Hooper, the signatory to the Declaration of Independence, reported in August, 1774, that the people of Wilmington had "very proper resentment for the injustice done." Much to Governor Martin's dismay, the leaders of the Assembly called a revolutionary congress to meet late in August, 1774. This First Provincial Congress was widely attended. Among the delegates were Farquard Campbell and Thomas Rutherford from Cumberland County. The delegates resolved to halt all trade with Britain. They also named three representatives to the Continental Convention. Revolutionary government in North Carolina was established by the fall of 1774. The Governor was powerless to stop it.

During the following months, groups of Patriots formed Committees of Safety to administer the non-importation agreement and to organize the opposition to the Governor. The Wilmington Committee published the names of individuals who refused to sign the non-importation agreement and forced them to appear before the Committee. By such actions, and by threatening boycotts of merchants, they secured co-operation.

Events moved swiftly in North Carolina in April and May of 1775. Governor Martin called a meeting of the Colonial Assembly at New Bern for April 4. The leaders of the

Assembly summoned the Second Provincial Congress to meet at the same place on April 3, since many delegates to the Assembly were also delegates to the Congress. When the leaders of the Assembly recessed that body to discuss the business of the Congress, Martin angrily ended the Assembly. It was the last royal Assembly held in colonial North Carolina. Government was clearly in the hands of the revolutionary groups now, and the Governor was helpless.

When news of the Battle of Lexington reached North Carolina early in May, the Committees of Safety began to make military preparations. A meeting of concerned colonists gathered in Charlotte on May 31. They called for the election of colonial military officers who would act "independent of Great Britain." The Governor realized he was not safe in New Bern and fled to the safety of a warship anchored in the mouth of the Cape Fear River, where he remained for several years, subsisting, as one report has it, on biscuit and wild cabbage.

From the safety of his floating command post aboard the *Cruizer* or the *Scorpion*, Governor Martin directed the counterrevolution. Even before his exile, the Governor had made plans for a military campaign in the colony. In a letter to General Gage dated March 16, 1775, Martin asked for "two or three stands of arms and some good ammunition" in order to halt the "insulting Gasconading" of the rebellious elements. He told Gage of offers of support from the Regulators and "a considerable body of Highlanders." Some action had to be taken, as Martin well knew, to rescue the fast-sinking authority of the Crown.

The Governor's plan for recovering the colony was revealed in greater detail in a series of letters to the Earl of Dartmouth, Secretary of State for the Colonies. Martin had formerly held the commission of lieutenant colonel, but

had sold it in 1769. He requested that he be allowed to recruit a battalion of a thousand Highlanders in North Carolina and that his old rank be restored. Martin's estimate of the Loyalist sentiments of the Regulators and Highlanders was accepted in Whitehall, but Dartmouth turned down the Governor's request for a commission. In spite of this disappointment, Martin continued planning a military campaign.

During the last half of 1775, both the Governor and the Patriots worked to secure the greater number of supporters and particularly to influence the Highlanders and Regulators. On August 8, Governor Martin issued a lengthy proclamation denouncing the leaders and delegates of the forthcoming Hillsboro Provincial Congress. The manifesto was designed to intimidate those inclined to support the Congress. In New Bern, where the Governor formerly resided, the Committee of Safety issued a counterstatement ridiculing the Governor's enormous proclamation which was six feet long and three feet wide. The Committee also ruled that all communications with Governor Martin henceforth were to cease.

Late in 1775, General Gage dispatched two officers to North Carolina to organize the Highlanders into military units, Brigadier General Donald McDonald and Colonel Donald McLeod. Since the Highlanders were largely unarmed, they could not be expected to carry on a military campaign without support. It was therefore decided to march them to the mouth of the Cape Fear, where they could receive weapons and join forces with other units. Although the ministry was more interested in retaking Charleston than of beginning a campaign in North Carolina, Alexander Schaw, a friend of Governor Martin, argued persuasively that victory could be more easily achieved in North Carolina. Then, with North Carolina retaken, the Loyalist elements in the South Carolina

back country could be supplied with arms and Charleston would fall.

In December the plan of action was revealed. General Howe, who had replaced Gage, would dispatch Sir Henry Clinton and 2,000 troops to the mouth of the Cape Fear from Boston. Meanwhile, the fleet would convey Lord Cornwallis and seven regiments from Ireland to join Clinton. The Highlanders and Regulators would march to the sea to be armed by this force.

Governor Martin's own plans now became concrete. On January 3, 1776, he was informed of the arrangements and ordered to have the Highlanders at Brunswick not later than February 15. Acting swiftly, he issued a proclamation on January 10, 1776, calling upon the Regulator and Highlander leaders to raise the royal standard, organize the friends of the King, and march the army to Brunswick. The die was cast.

The six-month period from July, 1775, to January, 1776, was a time of tension for the Highlanders of North Carolina. We know now that at the end of that half-year period of consideration a large number of the Highland Gaels did "repair to the royal banner." That lengthy period of indecision has a point of its own, however, and it is quite necessary to note that the Highlanders gave encouragement to the rebels at this time in many ways. The loyalty of the Highlanders to the King was by no means an immediate, automatic, or unanimous response.

Since the Highlanders were so important to Governor Martin's plans, he was frequently in touch with them during this critical time. We know that in June, 1775, Captain Alexander McLeod of the Highlander settlement traveled down to Wilmington to communicate with the Governor. There were several messengers who transmitted information

between Martin and Allan McDonald. The Wilmington Committee of Safety became suspicious about this exchange after capturing some of the Governor's couriers and reading his mail. As early as July, 1775, the Committee voiced its fear that Allan McDonald and James Hepburn, a Cross Creek lawyer, were raising troops for a Loyalist army. In October, the Governor informed the Earl of Dartmouth that he had communicated with Farquard Campbell in order to "sound his disposition in case of matters coming to extremity here." It is little wonder that several Committees of Safety adopted resolutions in the fall of 1775 branding those people receiving letters from the Governor or visiting him as "enemies of the liberties of the people." They were to be "dealt with accordingly."

But the Patriots also were making a play for the hand of the Highlanders. In August, 1775, the Provincial Congress sent a twelve-man delegation, including five Highlanders, to confer with "the gentlemen who have lately arrived from the highlands in Scotland." The purpose of this committee was "to advise and urge them to unite with the other Inhabitants of America in defence of those rights which they derive from God and the Constitution."

To win more supporters for the revolutionary cause, four Presbyterian clergymen were requested by Joseph Hewes, one of North Carolina's delegates to the Continental Congress, to write a letter defending the right to revolt. The letter was then printed and circulated in the state. In November of 1775, the Congress also sent two ministers to the Regulators and Highlanders as revolutionary missionaries. A similar attempt to gain the confidence of the Highlanders was made in the circulation of a letter by a writer who, hiding behind the assumed name "Scotus Americanus," urged

the Highlanders to break publicly with the Crown or declare neutrality in the struggle.

Many of the Gaels were active in the new revolutionary organizations which appeared in 1774 and 1775. Outraged over the recent British firing on colonials at Lexington and Concord, a group of settlers from the Cross Creek area formed, in 1775, what was known as the Cumberland County Association. The document these settlers signed warned the British that "whenever our Continental or Provincial Councils shall decree it necessary, we will go forth and be ready to sacrifice our lives and fortunes to secure . . . freedom and safety." Among the fifty-six signers were five men who were probably Highlanders: Thomas Rhea, Walter Murray, James Giles, William Gillespy, and James Gee. Although Cumberland County itself did not have a Committee of Safety, the records of the Wilmington Committee indicate that Farquard Campbell and Robert Cochran of Cumberland County were visiting members of that revolutionary tribunal. Alexander Legate, a prominent Highlander, was a member of the Committee of Safety in Bladen County.

The Provincial Congress of North Carolina was the chief policy-making body for the Patriots of the colony. It formed and directed the plan of opposition to the Crown. Certainly much of the credit for the success of the revolution in North Carolina should be assigned to this organization. It carried on a constant propaganda barrage, directed the Committees of Safety, enforced the boycott on English goods, and raised a revolutionary army. There were three conventions of the Provincial Congress before the Battle of Moore's Creek Bridge. Cumberland County was represented by Highlanders at each of the meetings. The delegates to the first convention held in August, 1774, and the second convention in April, 1775, were Thomas Rutherford and Farquard Campbell.

The first two meetings were at New Bern. When the Third Provincial Congress met at Hillsboro in August, 1775, a five-man delegation attended—Farquard Campbell, Thomas Rutherford, Alexander McKay, Alexander McAlister, and David Smith. These men were respected leaders in their community.

This same convention made provisions for the defense of the colony by organizing groups of Minute Men in the several counties. The names of the officers of the Cumberland County Minute Men are significant. Those appointed were Thomas Rutherford, Colonel; Alexander McAlister Lieutenant Colonel; Duncan McNeil, First Major; Alexander McDonald, Second Major.

In the fall of 1775, then, there was clearly a split in the leadership of the Highlanders. Allan McDonald and several other newly arrived Highlanders who were retired British officers advocated loyalty to the King. Meanwhile, James Campbell, the long-time minister of the settlement, and the veteran political leaders of the Highlander colony were playing open and active roles in the rebellion. A recognition of the fact that the Highlanders were divided is important for an understanding of what happened at Cross Creek on February 12, 1776, when General Donald McDonald called on the Highlanders to muster into the King's forces. Although Thomas Rutherford was a colonel in the Minute Men, he showed a remarkably impartial spirit by accepting a similar commission in General McDonald's forces. With regard to the initial response to General McDonald's manifesto, Rutherford reported that "great numbers of His Majesty's liege subjects have failed to attend." The Highlanders did not rush pellmell to defend the honor of George III. The decision was slow and painful.

A week after this first muster, however, General McDonald was able to mass a much larger body of Highlanders, and by the end of the month those troops had gone into battle for the royal cause. What forces influenced these Gaels to stand with the King? Can their decision be explained? Since so many people were involved, motivation was sure to be complex and varied. Documents of the day do, however, give us clues to at least four major reasons for the decision.

In the first place, the British in the eighteenth century were remarkably successful in pacifying former enemies. The two prime examples of this facility are their relations with the French Canadians and with the Scottish Highlanders. In 1755, at the outset of the French and Indian War, the British were so suspicious of the French settlers of Nova Scotia that thousands of Cajuns were abruptly scattered to other English colonies, thereby bringing great hardship on the people and also creating the historical background for Longfellow's "Evangeline." Only twenty years later, the French Canadians were sufficiently loyal to the British government that they refused all invitations to join the American rebellion, even after France entered the conflict on the American side. Neither the proffered hand of friendship, nor the threat of reprisal, nor lengthy arguments about the "rights of Englishmen" moved the French Canadians to aid the American rebels. They were satisfied. British colonial policy toward the French Canadians had been successful in neutralizing a large number of former enemies.

Similarly, the British had effected a conciliation with the Scottish Highlanders during approximately the same period of time. In 1773, Samuel Johnson favored permitting the Highlanders to wear their colorful, distinctive garb again. The Highlands had undergone many changes since the Forty-five. Woolen and linen mills now operated at several

locations. New schools, employing only the English language, were to be found all over the Highlands. The 800 miles of road which had been built destroyed much of the provincialism and isolation of the Highlanders. The migration of many people to other parts of the British Isles or to America gave those who remained in the Highlands family ties outside their local area. It was William Pitt who recognized that the Highlanders and the Highlands had so changed that there was no longer danger of revolution. Knowing their reputation as soldiers and needing troops during the Seven Years' War, Pitt decided to raise Highland regiments. They served Britain with distinction. A little over a decade later, when the American Revolution developed, London again called on the Highlanders for help. Samuel Johnson reported that the Highlanders responded immediately when their local leaders requested men for military duty. When the war was over, the Lord Advocate, Henry Dumas, informed the House of Commons that no group of subjects in the empire had better demonstrated their loyalty than the Highlanders.

Historians in our own time who have been puzzled over the Loyalism of the Highlanders have failed to observe this shift of allegiance in the years following the Forty-five. The Americans, however, were fully aware of it at the time of the Revolution. In Virginia, Loyalists were referred to as "the Scotch party." General Schuyler of New York despaired of securing the co-operation or aid of the Loyalist Highlanders in his colony. John Witherspoon of Princeton, who gave dedicated support to the revolutionary cause, included in a sermon of May, 1776, an appeal to Scottish-born Americans to support the rebellion. He observed that so many Scottish people were faithful to the King that the word *Scotch* was becoming a term of reproach in America.

As we have already noted, many of the North Carolina Highlanders came from Argyllshire. This was Campbell territory. For these Highlanders, it was part of their tradition to defend the House of Hanover.

During the Revolution, then, the Americans became painfully aware of the success of the British in turning their old French and Scottish enemies into neutrals or allies. In taking a Loyalist position in 1776, the Highlanders of North Carolina were not departing from the stand of Highlanders in other parts of the empire. They were only following the tide.

The fear of reprisal was probably a second factor motivating the Highlanders. Certainly Governor Martin, General McDonald, and Colonel Rutherford, all of whom made threatening statements, believed that fear of reprisal would work to the advantage of the Crown. No group of people in the empire was any better acquainted with the painful aftermath of an unsuccessful revolution than the Highlanders. Even those Highlanders who were too young to remember the Forty-five had heard many stories of the brutalities, atrocities, and destruction inflicted by the British Army under the Duke of Cumberland. The North Carolina Highlanders were in a precarious position. If they sided with the King, there was the danger of reprisal from the Patriots. If they took up the rebel cause, they might be forced to re-experience the post-Culloden sufferings. As they made their decision, they probably remembered how difficult it was to overthrow Hanoverian rule and how painful it was to fail.

Governor Martin's land-grant policies must have been a third factor influencing some of the Highlanders when they were forced to make their choice. As has been noted earlier, the pressure of population and the changes in the agricultural system in the Highlands forced many people from the

land. Thus the Highlanders' land hunger is understandable. As we have seen, a large body of emigrants from Scotland came to North Carolina in 1775. The exiled Governor Martin, who was at that time aboard his floating executive mansion at the mouth of the Cape Fear, greeted a number of Highlander ships when they arrived. Knowing that he had no power to prevent the Highlanders from seizing Crown land for their settlement, he decided to grant them land freely in return for an oath declaring their "firm and unalterable loyalty and attachment to the King, and . . . their readiness to lay down their lives in the support and defence of his Majesty's Government." The Board of Trade adopted a similar policy in 1775 to encourage enlistments in the Royal Regiment of Highland Emigrants. Most members of this Regiment were either from New York or Nova Scotia. It is possible, however, that some North Carolinians made similar agreements with Brigadier General McDonald. We do know that Governor Martin was directed in April, 1775, to set aside a special area in North Carolina for such Highlander recruits. We know also that the British government planned to organize the North Carolina Highlanders into the Second Battalion of the Royal Highland Emigrants when they reached the mouth of the Cape Fear.

It has been observed that some Highlanders who received land took loyalty oaths. How binding were such oaths? Just as in our own day, not all who took oaths kept them. Probably the best example is Brigadier General McDonald. On the way to Cross Creek in 1775, he was detained in New Bern by the Patriots. They let him go when he took "a solemn oath" that he had neither military nor subversive intentions but was going to Cumberland County for social reasons. That both sides continued to use oaths demonstrates the belief many people had in their effectiveness.

Regardless of the moot question of the effectiveness of oaths, the Highlanders did fear the loss of their land—some of it very recently acquired. They knew the Crown had seized the land of the rebel clans after the Forty-five and, as of 1775, that the land still had not been returned to the original owners. Particularly did the possibility of the seizure of their land press upon those few Highlanders who still retained property in Scotland. In a letter to Cornelius Harnett, Dugall Campbell explained his unwillingness to join the Patriots. If he “took up arms for this country,” said Campbell, “then my property will be immediately confiscated to the King.”

Some North Carolina Highlanders were retired officers on half pay, and their status as such was a fourth factor. Whether because of their past associations or their financial commitment, these men provided leadership for the royal cause and were among the first to offer themselves in the King's service. The leadership of Flora McDonald's husband, Allan, appears to have been of particular importance. From Governor Martin's records, it seems, that McDonald was to be second-in-command, with the rank of major, and McDonald's son-in-law, Alexander McLeod, was to be first-captain. Since Flora McDonald had been so greatly admired in the Highlands, it was not unusual that many of the Gaels looked to her husband for leadership in this crisis. The older leaders of the colony, as noted above, actively co-operated with the revolutionary groups for a time, but Allan McDonald never wavered in 1775 in his determination to stand with the King. Governor Martin's letter to the Earl of Dartmouth on November 12, 1775, describes the jealousy the older leaders such as Farquard Campbell felt of Allan McDonald and Alexander McLeod. The older leaders were unhappy to observe the great influence of the newcomers over the High-



FLORA MACDONALD, FROM A PAINTING BY J. HIGHMORE,
IN THE CHESTER H. JOHNSON GALLERY, CHICAGO, ILL.

lander settlers. The best proof of the part Flora's husband and son-in-law played as leaders is to be seen in the fact that when General Gage's two officers, Donald McDonald and Donald McLeod, arrived in the Highland settlement, they found two companies of soldiers already organized by Allan McDonald and Alexander McLeod.

It is clear, then, that the decision of the Highlanders to support one side or the other was not an automatic one. Members of the group were active on both sides of the conflict. But a large body of Highlanders did come to the support of the King because of the considerations discussed above—the fear of reprisal, the liberal land grants offered them, and the leadership of a number of retired British officers residing in the colony.

To the sound of the pibroch, the Highlanders mustered in Cross Creek in February, 1776. Only thirty-one years after their last great rebellion in the British Isles, they were the best friends George III had in the colony of North Carolina.

The Governor expected approximately 3,000 Regulators to rise and a like number of Highlanders. Among the Regulators the response was disappointing. Immediately after the Governor's proclamation had been issued, there was renewed Loyalist zeal in the Regulator counties. But the Regulators did not flock to join the royal troops. One group of 500 gathered but when they began marching to Cross Creek, the sight of a company of Whigs dispersed them. The total number of Regulators who fought at the side of the Highlanders in the royal cause in 1776 was under 200. Why did the Regulators fall so short of the Governor's expectations? Some expressed dissatisfaction that most of the leaders were Highlanders. Many had no weapons, since their guns had been seized in 1771. Moreover, they had felt the pain of losing in war, and they did not desire to take such a risk again.

While among the Highlanders there was greater response, again the numbers raised did not coincide with the Governor's estimate. During the first month of 1776, several Highlanders experienced a remarkable change in attitude. It was Thomas Rutherford, delegate to all the Provincial Congresses and head of the Cumberland County Minute Men, who issued the call for all "Lovers of Order and Good Government" to muster under the King's standard at Cross Creek on February 12, 1776. When only a few reported, Rutherford published another manifesto "to command, enjoin, beseech and require all His Majesty's faithful subjects . . . to repair to the King's Royal Standard at Cross Creek." Alexander Legate, a member of the Committee of Safety of Bladen County, appeared at the muster and received a Commission as captain. One of the delegation sent by the Hillsboro Congress to speak to the Highlanders in the fall of 1775 was Alexander McKay; but when the royal standard was raised at Cross Creek, he joined the King's army. Farquard Campbell, in January and February of 1776, sought to appear as a friend of both sides. The ranks of the Patriot Highlanders thinned. Of the five Cumberland County delegates to the Hillsboro Congress, only two remained faithful to the American cause—David Smith and Alexander McAlister.

Thomas Rutherford's calls supplemented the earlier proclamation of General Donald McDonald, who on February 4, 1776, had asked all loyal subjects to join his army. At that time, McDonald had assured Loyalist men that their families and property would be protected and that any supplies or equipment seized by the army would be paid for. In spite of these promises, a total of only 1,500 men joined the Loyalist forces. Thirteen hundred of them were Highlanders. Because of faulty intelligence reports, the Governor origin-

ally was led to believe that 7,000 men had joined McDonald's forces. Later he received reports that the group was made up of 3,500 men. Only after the Battle of Moore's Creek Bridge did he learn of the actual size of the Loyalist army.

The Patriots soon were aware of the impending Loyalist march to the mouth of the Cape Fear. The Committee of Safety in New Bern made plans at its meeting of February 10 to oppose the Highlanders. Colonel Richard Caswell received an order from the Committee to mobilize his Minute Men for action. The people of Wilmington also exhibited concern over the Loyalist march to the sea, since Wilmington was on the route the army would take.

To meet the Highlanders, two units of militia and Minute Men marched north from Wilmington. Colonel James Moore, who commanded the Patriot troops, by forced march up the western side of the Cape Fear reached Rockfish Creek, blocking McDonald's path downstream.

At this time, the dual role of Farquard Campbell became evident. Campbell visited the military encampments of both the Highlanders and the Patriots, giving each information about the other. Campbell informed General McDonald that Moore expected reinforcements shortly. Since the King's forces would then be outnumbered, Campbell advised McDonald to avoid a battle. In the light of this information, the British general realized that his primary aim ought to be to lead his soldiers to the mouth of the Cape Fear and there to rendezvous with the forces from Boston under Sir Henry Clinton and seven regiments from the British Isles under the command of Lord Charles Cornwallis. McDonald feared that open battle would bring defeat, since his men were untrained and only half had firearms. He accepted Farquard Campbell's advice, crossed the Cape Fear at Camp-

bellton to evade Colonel Moore, and descended the east bank of the river.

After evading Moore's army, the Loyalists marched steadily downstream until they encountered the Patriot forces drawn up at Moore's Creek Bridge, eighteen miles above Wilmington. Colonels Richard Caswell and Alexander Lillington had fortified an elevation overlooking the bridge that the Loyalists had to cross. To make that crossing more difficult, the floor boards of the bridge had been removed and the sleepers greased.

Unfortunately for the Highlanders, General McDonald, a conservative and capable officer, became ill and the command fell to Colonel Donald McLeod. McLeod secured the approval of the other younger officers for an attack the following morning, indicating that he would lead the assault personally. The results of his leadership were disastrous for the Highlanders. From concealed positions, the Patriots fixed their rifle and artillery fire on the bridge as the Highlanders attempted to follow their leaders across the slippery beams. After the Patriots' first volley had swept the bridge clean, the Highlanders on the bank panicked and fled from the scene. About fifty Highlanders were killed and 880 were captured. In sharp contrast, the Patriots lost only two men. The attempt of the Highlanders to come to the aid of Governor Martin and the royal cause failed.

Defeat is always a bitter experience. The Highlanders learned this after the Battle of Culloden; they rediscovered it after the Battle of Moore's Creek Bridge. In North Carolina, the aftermath of battle was not so bloody as it had been in Scotland; still, it was a trying time. The Highlanders who were captured were thrown into the common jails of the colony. As a consequence of their imprisonment, the prisoners' families were left alone and, often, unprotected. In

the months after the battle, groups of Whigs raided, pillaged, and burned Tory farms, causing much needless suffering. Though most of the Loyalist soldiers were captured, a few successfully concealed themselves in the woods after the battle. Since the Whigs had captured General McDonald's muster lists, these Loyalist soldiers could not return home. Instead, they attempted to hike overland to join British units elsewhere. Although the Committees of Safety forced some Highlanders to leave North Carolina in 1776, the Provincial Congress did not officially authorize such policies until the next year. In April, 1777, the Provincial Congress passed a law legalizing the banishment of nonjuring Loyalists and the confiscation of the property of those who refused to take an oath of fealty to the Revolutionary government. This legislation provoked a new migration.

One of the new migrants was Flora McDonald whose brief and unpleasant stay in North Carolina was in sad contrast to the joyous reception given the Highland heroine and her family upon their arrival in the colony. Zealous Patriots forced Flora to leave her new plantation, "Killegray" on Mountain Creek in Anson County, only a few months after settling there. Allan, taken prisoner at Moore's Creek, was exchanged for a captured American officer after lengthy negotiations. Flora and her children left North Carolina under a flag of truce after spending only four years in the colony.

There are no reliable estimates of the numbers of Loyalist Highlanders who left the state or of the size of the group which remained in North Carolina. We must rely upon the observations of contemporaries who witnessed the exodus. One concerned Whig declared that two-thirds of the people in Cumberland County were preparing to leave in the summer of 1777. This may have been a high estimate, but others at the same time wrote of the "great numbers" departing,

and described them as people of considerable wealth. Where did the Loyalists go? A few moved south to Florida and the West Indies. Most went by ship to New York and then on to the British Isles or to Canada, where many settled in Nova Scotia.

In spite of retaliatory laws, confiscations, and pillaging, many Highlanders remained in the upper Cape Fear region, as the census returns of 1790 witness. After the Battle of Moore's Creek Bridge, however, Governor Martin realized it was impossible for him to exercise authority in North Carolina. His plan had failed. He abandoned his post at the mouth of the Cape Fear River. When the British forces finally did arrive—three months late—there was no chance of a successful campaign in North Carolina, so the troops of George III moved down the coast to Charleston. Later, in 1781, Lord Cornwallis did lead a British army into North Carolina. He expected the Cape Fear Highlanders to flock into his army, but they were cold to his pleas. Many of the remaining Highlanders may have been Loyalists at heart, but they were unwilling to take up arms again.

Although the eighteenth-century Highlanders were not always consistent in their attitude toward the House of Hanover, they were remarkably consistent in choosing the losing side in civil wars. In three separate conflicts they took up arms. In each war they were defeated. After each defeat they suffered from retributive legislation. Those who fled from North Carolina in the 1770's might well have recited the same verse sung by their ancestors a generation earlier.

Now forced from my home and my dark halls away,
The son of the strangers has made them a prey;
My family and friends to extremity driven,
Contending for life both with earth and with
heaven!

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